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ABSTRACT

This manual is designed to help the non-specialist cope with the existing body of material on Afro-American studies and establish guidelines for evaluating new resources as they appear. No attempt is made to recommend teaching methods or activities, but the author urges supplementation of elementary and secondary social studies courses and materials, most of which overlook or distort the role of blacks in American history. The first part of the manual, Survey of Afro-American History, is divided into 16 historical periods paralleling similar divisions in American history courses, e.g.: The African Past; Black Power During the Reconstruction Period; Depression and the New Deal; Black Nationalism. Each section surveys its period with an emphasis on Afro-Americans, and notes three to five related specialized works. The second part comprises a 40-page topical bibliography to aid teachers and librarians in adding to their Afro-American studies materials. It covers bibliographies, teacher guides, biographies, general histories and documentary collections, African history and culture, contemporary issues, black art, children's books, newspapers and periodicals, films and filmsetips, sound recordings, and organizations and publishers. (DJB)

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TEACHER'S GUIDE
FOR

Afro-American History

NEW YORK STATE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SERVICES

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TEACHER'S GUIDE
FOR
AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORY

By

MATILDE J. ZIMMERMANN

STATE OF NEW YORK
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SERVICES
1450 WESTERN AVENUE ALBANY, N.Y. 12203

FEBRUARY 1969

FOREWORD

This Guide was written to fill a void in teaching materials on the history of Afro-Americans and their participation in the development of this country. There has been a general lack of knowledge about Afro-Americans and along with this, little material has been written in an organized way for teaching purposes. Teachers who are interested have used whatever resources they could find on the subject. The teachers in state training schools and centers have many Negro children in their classes and so have been especially eager for some instructional guidelines. This Guide for teachers was prepared primarily for their use.

A guide is an outline for a subject and a reference to sources where more information can be found. This Guide was written from this point of view. It divides the subject by chapters, each chapter a resume of each historic period. These brief statements serve to stimulate interest in the period by the selection of material and the lively and contemporary style in which they are written. At the end of each chapter the major reference books for material in the chapter are given. A bibliography which constitutes Part II of the Guide provides a comprehensive list of reference material by subject, with appropriate reading matter selected especially for grade levels through Junior High Schools.

We are enormously indebted to Matilde J. Zimmermann for this unique and very useful Guide. She wrote the complete manuscript during the summer of 1968. Miss Zimmermann is a student of African and Afro-American history. She has spent a year teaching in Tanzania, Africa, has a masters degree in African history from the University of Wisconsin, is now completing her doctorate in this field and is currently teaching at St. John's University.

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Robert Shulman

Robert Shulman
Deputy Commissioner
Division of Children's Services

February, 1969

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Introductory Remarks

In these days of national attention to "race relations," no one needs to be told that one American in ten is black. Growing numbers of people are aware that Afro-Americans have played a dynamic role in the history of the United States, and that over the centuries they have made signigicant and distinctive contributions to the building of this country. American school children, however, are rarely exposed to this story. They continue to study an "American History" which makes the national past virtually a white domain. Most elementary and secondary school texts contain no reference to black Americans between the Emancipation Proclamation and the Supreme Court desegregation decision of 1954. When American history does fleetingly acknowledge the Negro's existence, it tends to cast him in a passive role: the black man was enslaved, then he was freed by Lincoln, finally he was liberated from Jim Crow by the action of a white court.

By leaving out the active and sometimes crucial role played by the black minority, American history does itself a serious injustice. The student, black or white, suffers: he is denied the true story of his country's past, and he does not learn the history which could help him understand the present. Most Americans are not African in ancestry, but all share a cultural heritage with an African and Afro-American component. We live in a nation which black labor helped develop and make strong; much of this effort went unpaid and unpraised at the time, but at the very least it deserves our belated recognition.

If a major function of history is to enable us to cope with the present in an intelligent and responsible manner, then an all-white history of the United States is grievously unsatisfactory. For all these reasons, history courses which pay less attention to the Afro-American than to the tariff are as inadequate and as misleading for the white child as for the black.

The Afro-American story is not the only chapter which has been left out of American history or seriously mistold. Our schoolbooks need to be rewritten to include a new understanding of the American Indian, the Chinese and the Puerto Rican contributions as well. Nonetheless, America's largest minority has been the most ignored, and the exclusion of the black man from history has left the most gaping hole.

The last few years have seen a dramatic increase in awareness of Negro history. Newspaper articles, television shows, special courses or programs, and a flood of new publications all testify to the growing popularity of this subject. The new concern is to be welcomed, but in a few cases it seems to exhibit some unfortunate characteristics. One of these has been the tendency to portray all Afro-Americans as great and heroic in the face of incredible odds. While this type of "history" may be an understandable reaction, it is no more true of the Negro record than it is of the white. Black history has its share of heroes and martyrs, but it also has its share of mediocre men and traitors. It is important that the Afro-American story be told, but surely it is equally important that it be told honestly. A second way of misrepresenting the Afro-American past is at least as distressing as the tendency to over-glorify it. It is sometimes asserted that the black man patiently accepted first slavery and then second-class citizenship, that he willingly labored for the white master, and that he now deserves to be "given" equal rights in return for 400 years of unresisting servitude. This picture of quiet patience in the face of oppression bears a strong resemblance to the "happy darky" stereotype and little or no resemblance to historical reality. It furthermore is a bizarre kind of "tribute" to the Afro-American people, who have fought for their freedom as vigorously as white men. American school children learn that their forefathers bravely fought the tyranny of "taxation without representation." Why then should they be falsely taught that black Americans cravenly accepted the greater tyranny of slavery?

There is considerable debate today in educational circles about the relative merits of "integrated American history" and separate courses in Afro-American history. Most teachers have opted for the first approach, and this manual is primarily designed to assist them in weaving the record of Negro Americans into their regular social studies courses. The sixteen brief chapters of text roughly parallel topical and chronological sections of the standard American history curriculum. Each chapter surveys the main themes of the Negro's relationship to the white majority in a given historical period and points to some of the most important individual actors in this drama. The teacher who is dissatisfied with the treatment of the Negro in his regular text (as many are, since all textbooks now available are deficient in this respect), should find it fairly easy to use the material in this guide to supplement her normal course of study. For some topics, such as the Revolutionary War, the Western Frontier, or the Depression, the addition of material on the Afro-American will merely provide some new information and an interesting historical sideline. In other cases, such as the study of Slavery or Reconstruction, the role of black Americans is obviously of more than marginal interest.

Social studies courses are patently in need of expansion; for too many years we have billed as "American History" what was really only Anglo-American history. As indicated, the specific purpose of this manual is to facilitate this over-due academic integration. The author believes, however, that there is also a place for separate courses in Afro-American history, when there is active student interest in such a course and when a qualified instructor can be found. Even in a normal "integrated" course of study,there may well be justification for a separate unit on some aspect of Negro history. A teacher might wish, for instance, to do a special class project on "The Black Soldier" or on "Negro Reformers from Frederick Douglass to Martin Luther King, Jr." A wealth of material exists for such studies, and experimentation in this area could yield exciting results.

Afro-American history, whether incorporated into a regular program of study or given concentrated attention in a special course, is no panacea. By itself, it cannot solve the problems which teachers face; the teaching of Negro history will not bring any revolutionary improvements in the educational system as a whole. There are, however, a few "fringe benefits" which may reward the teacher who goes through the extra work involved in ferreting out the truth about the Negro past and bringing this history to the attention of students. Afro-American history is full of the unexpected and dramatic -- if only because it has been neglected for so long. Tracing the saga of the black cowboys or of the "Afro-Indians" of frontier wars is bound to spark interest and discussion in a classroom. Teachers and pupils alike can find excitement in adding to or revising a stale, established view of history. The introduction of Afro-American material often challenges traditional interpretations of history and leads to further investigation and a search for new and more reliable sources. This, after all, is what history is all about. It is the questioning, and not the accumulation of dead well-known facts, that makes history an exciting and provocative discipline. This should be as true for the third grader discovering the dramatic story of black cowboys as for a graduate student delving into obscure historical controversies.

It will take serious effort on the part of schools and teachers to give just recognition to the Afro-American contribution and to use the new educational materials to advantage. "Negro History Week" simply will not be enough. That week might profitably be selected as the time for a display of posters on famous Negroes, or for a special assembly program, or for a panel discussion on Afro-American history. But black history and culture cannot be relegated to one week a year. It must be made an integral part of the social studies course and should be incorporated into other fields of study as much as possible. Many teachers will find it necessary to do extra reading and study to improve their own backgrounds in this area, and schools should assume the responsibility of making available the new materials on Afro-American studies.

The easiest way to integrate a history course would be to add a few Negro names to the roll of famous Americans. This is similar to what is called "token integration" in the world outside the classroom. Black heroes deserve recognition, and the teacher should certainly point out those Negroes who have made major contributions in American history. History, however, is much more than a compilation of biographical sketches. The anonymous thousands of fugitive slaves who traveled the Underground Railroad were as important to the abolitionist movement as the eloquent Fredrick Douglass or the brave Harriet Tubman. Certainly an historical investigation of the relationship between the black worker and the labor movement does more to help us understand contemporary events than does memorizing the historical fact that the first open-heart surgery was performed by a Negro doctor. In the text which follows, I have attempted to name the major Negro figures and point out their significance. Much more attention, however, is given to analyzing the general themes of each period and to suggesting some of the social forces and movements which shaped Afro-American history.

A small disclaimer may be necessary. This is a manual in Afro-American studies. I have endeavored to make it a useful reference tool on this subject for teachers of all grade levels, and I hope that it will prove interesting to librarians and administrators as well. Black history and culture is a very large subject indeed, and it is virtually impossible to cover adequately even if rather stringently defined. Yet, there is a peculiar tendency to frown on any study which concentrates on black America, and perhaps even to condemn such a work as "inverse racism." For the record, therefore, I would like to insist that I have no desire to undermine the place in American history of Anglo-Saxons, American Indians, Jews, Italians, Puerto Ricans, Chinese, Eastern Europeans, etc. Their particular contributions are simply not within the purview of this study.

It is unavoidable that in a brief historical survey many important things must receive less attention than they warrant or be omitted altogether. In this document, two factors besides objective historical importance have influenced the difficult selection of what was to be emphasized. The first was the desire to begin to light those important aspects of Afro-American history which have elsewhere been ignored or poorly understood. This was sometimes done at the expense of attention to more generally recognized contributions. Thus the role of black people in creating a distinctive music goes largely unheralded, although this is a major contribution to American culture and plays an important part in Afro-American life; the importance of black music is widely recognized and has received beautiful tribute in other sources. Secondly, an effort was made to focus on the role played by black people themselves in historical developments which have affected them. In the chapter on the anti-slavery movement, for example, special attention is given to the black abolitionists; these men and women played a crucial role in mobilizing public opinion, but their writings and speeches have usually not received the attention they merit. Both of these "biases" are frankly conceded, although it is not felt that they have caused actual distortion of the historical material. In any event, the suggestions for further reading should provide ample material to correct the omissions of the text itself.

Resources in the fields of Afro-American history and culture are increasing at an unprecedented rate. The wealth of new material is to be welcomed, and it is just beginning to fill the gaps left by past neglect. At the same time, the growing volume of literature causes certain problems, particularly for one who is not a specialist in black studies. The teacher is confronted with a mass of recent books on the American Negro, and he has neither the time nor the background to pass judgment on all the new sources which are available. He may suspect, quite rightly, that a good many of the current studies are hastily done and mediocre in quality. A teacher of general history or social studies cannot afford to spend all his time reviewing the material on black America as it appears and evaluating a wide range of sources for his own needs and for use with his students.

This manual is designed to help the non-specialist cope with the existing body of material on Afro-American studies and establish guidelines for evaluating new resources as they appear. Each chapter in the survey of Afro-American history is followed by a brief list of the three or four best and most useful works on that particular topic. The latter section of the handbook contains a more extensive, although still selected, annotated bibliography on various aspects of Afro-American studies. Typical categories in the bibliographical section are: "General Texts and Documentary Collection," "The Afro-American Past," "Books for Children," and "Black Arts." There are also suggestions on the use of audio-visual materials and lists of other sources of information.

The chapter notes in the historical survey of this guide do not include page references to Afro-American history texts or general works; they indicate only specialized works in the topic under consideration. The major texts and documentary collections all contain sections which parallel and complement the brief chapters of this handbook, and they should be consulted regularly by the teacher. Note that this guide is not meant to be a substitute for the existing texts in Afro-American history. The serious history texts are imperative sources for detailed information on specific individuals and groups and for more complete analysis than is attempted in this brief account. It is assumed that the teacher has available for reference purposes at least the four following sources:

1. John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1956); this is the standard college-level text and is essential for teacher reference.

2. * Lerone Bennett, Jr., Before the Mayflower: A History of the Negro in America, 1619-1964 (Chicago: Johnson, 1964); a very readable history which is recommended for both teachers and students.

3. * William Loren Katz, Eyewitness: The Negro in American History (New York: Pitman, 1967); an excellent text for secondary schools, with readings from contemporary accounts of each historical period.

4. The Doubleday Zenith series includes three small books on African history and five on Afro-American history, written for a sixth grade reading level but with high interest level. The volumes vary slightly in quality, but as a whole the series is far and away the best source available for junior high schools and will be suitable for many high school students as well. The following Zenith books were published

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* Note that in all bibliographical citations of this guide, an asterisk(*) indicates the existence of a paperback edition.

by Doubleday between 1965 and 1967 and are all available in paperback: Daniel Chu and Elliott.Skinner, A Glorious Age in Africa; Basil Davidson, A Guide to African History; Lavinia Dobler and William Brown, Great Rulers of the African Past; Dorothy Sterling and Benjamin Quarles, Lift Every Voice; Milton Meltzer and August Meier, Time of Trial, Time of Hope; Carol Drisko and E. A. Toppin, The Unfinished March; Agnes McCarthy and Lawrence Reddick, Worth Fighting For; Lavinia Dobler and E.A. Toppin, Pioneers and Patriots; and Philip Sterling and Rayford Logan, Four Took Freedom.

It is difficult to express my appreciation to the members of the Bureau of Children's Institutions Services with whom I have worked on this manual. Their constant interest in the project has been an inspiration and a challenge, and their enthusiasm has sustained the effort through the infrequent moments when my own excitement about the subject flagged. Without their friendship and help, this handbook might never have been completed. Similarly, it could hardly have been compiled without the practical advice and encouragement of various staff members in the Training Schools of New York State. Insofar as the manual makes a useful contribution, it is a tribute to these friends and colleagues. Insofar as it is marred by errors and omissions, it must be my responsibility alone. Needless to say, any opinions expressed in the text are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Bureau of Children's Institutions Services of the New York State Department of Social Services.

Matilde J. Zimmermann

PART I: SURVEY OF AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORY

1. The African Past

For years, many Americans have thought of Africa as the "Dark Continent," as a jungle inhabited only by savages. Unlike their fellow citizens of Mediterranean or Anglo-Saxon background, Afro-Americans have usually been taught to be ashamed of the homeland of their ancestors. Recent investigations into the African past have, however, dispelled some naive myths and revealed the proud heritage of black history and culture.

It is becoming increasingly certain that human life as we know it began in Africa. The research of prominent archaeologists, and especially the discoveries of Dr. Leakey at Olduvai Gorge in East Africa, have indicated that the first men lived on the "Dark Continent." For a long time -- perhaps half a million years -- the most advanced people in the world were "Africans"; they were the first to use tools, and they may have been the first to discover fire, to plant seeds, to paint pictures, and to develop a religion.

Africa was still in the forefront of the human story when the first historic civilization developed along the Nile River. Many people think of ancient Egypt as a Mediterranean state, but we now know that the realm of the pharoahs was very much a part of the African continent. The wealth and glory of Egypt depended heavily on trade and other contacts with lands to the South. There is some controversy about the physical appearance of the ancient Egyptians, but paintings and contemporary records have convinced many scholars that they were Negroes. Several rulers (including the famous Queen Nefertiti) and most of the soldiers who conquered new lands for Egypt were black. The evidence suggests that the men and women of the "cradle of civilization" along the Nile represented a wide range of physical types, from almost white to Nubian black.

We have few records about the peoples of Africa during the centuries following the decline of Egypt. But by the Middle Ages, when western Europe was struggling to re-establish itself after the nomadic invasions, great states and empires had already appeared in West and Central Africa.

The first of the powerful West African states was Ghana, founded in the third or fourth century after Christ. The kings of Ghana extended their influence south into the forest and north into the Sahara Desert through their control of an extensive trade in salt and gold. In the eleventh century, the ruler of Ghana lived in a palace decorated with sculpture and painted windows, and commanded an army of two hundred thousand men. Merchants and scholars in North Africa recognized the Negro state across the desert as an important trading partner, and they envied Ghana for her rich gold fields.

Ghana was followed by an even more powerful state, as large as

Europe: the empire of Mali. The rulers of this state were Muslim, and the most famous of them was named Mansa Musa. When Musa made a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1324, he took a caravan of sixty thousand persons and eighty camels laden with 24,000 pounds of gold. The people of Cairo remembered his visit many years afterwards, for the African monarch was generous with gifts of gold.

As Mali began to decline, another kingdom was rising to power. The new state of Songhay, like its predecessors, was built on trade; its rulers developed their own banking system and legal code so that commerce would flow smoothly. The pride of Songhay, however, was the university city of Timbuktu. Scholars from the Middle East and Europe came to study at this famous intellectual center. One fifteenth-century visitor observed "a great store of doctors, judges, priests, and other learned men," and related that the biggest business in Timbuktu was the sale of books and manuscripts.

Ghana, Mali and Songhay were located in the savannah country of West Africa, between the desert and the forest. To the south and east of them, forest civilizations developed. Cities like Benin and Oyo, in the area of present-day Nigeria, were true urban centers. Social relations were complex and well-defined. A rich and complicated religious system played an important role in the lives of the people. Skilled craftsmen were organized into specialized guilds, and artists created works whose beauty is still recognized today. In the surrounding forest, farmers grew food for the cities. They lived much the way that people live today in some parts of rural Africa. Their houses and clothing, which seem so strange to our modern western eyes, were very functional in the hot and humid climate of the forest.

Along the eastern coast of Africa, a different type of city had developed. When the Portuguese rounded the Cape and sailed up the east coast of Africa at the end of the fifteenth century, they were amazed to find thriving trading cities with two and three story stone houses and bustling market places. The tired Portuguese sailors who straggled off their ships made a poor showing beside the elegant men and women of the coast in their fine robes. African aristocrats in cities like Kilwa, Mombasa and Malindi had a rich cultural tradition; they wrote elaborate poetry in Arabic and in their own language of Swahili. Merchants in the port cities had extensive trade connections with the Arabian penninsula, with India, even with distant China.

Less is known about the civilizations of the African interior during the Middle Ages. When Europeans penetrated Central Africa in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries they found the massive stone ruins of earlier settlements. The monuments of Great Zimbabwe were so impressive that the Europeans of that racist era could not believe they were the work of Africans. Everyone now concedes, however, that the great stone forts and palaces were constructed by Africans, and that they are the relics of a major state whose people worked gold and copper mines and traded mineral produce with the East African Coast.

Not all Africans lived in the great empires of the interior or the prosperous city states of the coast. But this does not mean that they were living in a jungle of barbarism from which they were fortunate to be "rescued" by the Christian slavetrader. It is difficult to generalize about a continent as vast and varied as Africa, with its hundreds of different languages, cultures, religions, economic systems, and levels of technology. Africans were hunters, fishermen, cattle herders, farmers, merchants, priests, scholars, and craftsmen. We can, however, try to describe a representative African, an average slave-to-be in the seventeenth or eighteenth century.

Our "typical" African was a subsistence farmer, growing food for himself and his family on land held jointly by the people of his village. He had strong family ties, not only to his own children and parents, but also to his "extended family" of grandparents, cousins, nieces and nephews. He helped to provide for those who were old and sick, and he knew that his family and neighbors would do the same for him if necessary. He knew the history of his people, even when it was not written down; the elders in his village remembered stories of the past and carefully taught them to their sons and grandsons. His religious beliefs helped him understand the world around him and set forth rituals and ceremonies that he performed together with other members of his community. (If he was a Muslim, as many Africans were, his religion provided spiritual and cultural contact with the far-flung Islamic world.)

Our typical African and his wife worked hard, but their lives were no more difficult or more humble than those of most European peasants at the same time. They had a piece of land and the iron tools to work it with, and they could maintain their family if spared the disasters of war and disease. When there was time for leisure, expert story-tellers, dancers and musicians could be relied on to provide entertainment. Most important of all, our slave-to-be was free. He respected the elders of his community and perhaps obeyed and paid tribute to a chief or king. But he was not the slave of any man.

Reading Suggestions:

There is a growing body of literature on African studies, including many books suitable for school use. In addition to the suggestions here, reference is made to the section "African History and Culture" in Part II of this guide.

1. The Zenith series includes three books on Africa; together they form an excellent introduction to the continent for the junior high or high school reader: *Daniel Chu and Elliott Skinner, A Glorious Age in Africa (Garden City: Doubleday, 1966); *Basil Davidson, A Guide to African History: A General Survey of the African Past from Earliest Times to the Present (Garden City: Doubleday, 1965); *Lavinia Dobler and William A. Brown, Great Rulers of the African Past (Garden City, Doubleday, 1965).

2. Roland Oliver & Caroline Oliver (eds.), Africa in the Days of Exploration (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965) is a compilation of eyewitness accounts from the 16th and 17th centuries, which should prove fascinating to both teachers and students.

3. Philip D. Curtin, Africa Remembered, Narratives by West Africans from the Era of the Slave Trade (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967) gives a picture of Africa through the eyes of slaves and African travelers.

2. Black Cargoes

The slave trade is now universally recognized as a shameful episode in Western history. No one can be proud that his forefathers may have helped to seize millions of African men and women, stuff them into the stinking holds of ships and sell them into a life of hardship and bondage in the New World. The old rationale for African enslavement derived from cultural ethnocentricism ("Christianizing the heathen", etc.), or from pseudo-scientific racism. Now that these arguments are now no longer popular, another factor is often introduced to mitigate the historic shame of the slave trade. This is the reminder that Africans had slavery before the white man arrived, or that greedy Africans collaborated by selling their sons and brothers to the European traders.

It is true that there was slavery in Africa in early times. But this slavery bears little resemblance to the practice which developed in the plantation colonies of the Western Hemisphere. When an African acquired a "slave" it was usually to increase the size of his family or retinue, rather than to add another pair of hands to a labor force. Those enslaved in this manner were often war prisoners, criminals or orphans, for whom the alternative might have been severe punishment or death. Furthermore, these slaves had certain rights. They usually could not be resold, and their living conditions were not very different from those of a free peasant.

It is also true that Africans sold their countrymen for bright cloth, rum, and trinkets. In fact, the slave trade certainly could not have reached such proportions without active African participation. Europeans were not themselves prepared to go far into the interior to procure their human "merchandise"; they preferred to wait on the coast for the gangs of slaves to be brought to them. Some African rulers were only too eager to take advantage of this new opportunity for wealth. Others resisted, although it was dangerous for them to do so. Chiefs who stood in the way of the slave trade were often killed and replaced by puppets. If necessary, European troops could be called upon to invade the territory of a hostile chief in order to clear the way for trade.

When the Portuguese first visited the West African coast in the fifteenth century, they returned with slaves. Portugal needed farm labor, and Lisbon soon became an important market for slaves. Slavery did not become big business, however, until Europeans began to settle the Americas and to experiment with large-scale agricultural production there. When it became apparent that sugar could be grown at great profit on the islands of the Caribbean, the fate of several million Africans was determined. Sugar plantations demanded a large and dependable work force. Planters could not rely upon the local Indian population, which had been decimated, or in some cases entirely wiped out, by epidemics of European diseases. So the planters turned to Africa.

In 1619, a pirate ship sailed into the harbor of Jamestown, Virginia. No one even knows the ship's name, although she arrived a year before the famous Mayflower and bore an historic cargo. The captain unloaded a group of twenty Africans, whom the pirates had stolen from a Spanish ship bound for the West Indies. The history of the black man in America had begun.

The Africans of the Jamestown group were not slaves. They were indentured servants, like many white workers brought forcibly to colonial America. In this early period the situation was still fluid, and it was not yet certain that slavery would become entrenched in North America. However, when the colonialists began to grow cotton and tobacco, they followed the lead of the sugar planters in the West Indies. Sugar, cotton and tobacco could be grown most economically on great plantations where large numbers of people could be forced to work virtually without compensation.

There are several reasons why colonial Americans looked to Africa and slavery to provide this work force. There was a precedent for African enslavement. Africans were experienced at agricultural work and in the West Indies they had proven their ability to survive hard work in the American climate. Because they were physically distinctive, a racial argument was built up for enslaving them. Once all black men were identified as slaves it became very difficult for bondsmen to run away and pose as free citizens.

Colonial legislatures soon passed laws insuring the "perpetual servitude" of Negroes. Year by year the slave population grew. In 1710 they numbered 50,000, and this figure increased ten-fold by the time of the Revolutionary War.

Transporting slaves became the world's most profitable enterprise, as the businessmen of New England had good reason to know. The Puritan principle of individual liberty did not extend to the black man -- at least not when it interfered with a lively commerce. The merchants of Boston, Salem, Providence and other New England ports fitted out ships to sail the coasts of Africa, and they sold slaves to the Portuguese and Spanish colonies of South America as well as to their own southern neighbors. By 1700, New England firms were dominant in this booming trade; the next fifty years mark the heyday of the Northern slave traders.

Only high profits and steady demand made the slave trade worthwhile, for it was a dangerous business. Contemporary records reveal the falseness of the common stereotype of docile and demoralized Africans being led unresisting into bondage. The struggle against enslavement began in Africa, where, according to one slave trader, "the Negroes fought like wild beasts" against those who would take them from their homeland and families. A slave trader could not relax his vigilence once he had his captive cargo on board ship. Although slaves were always confined and watched by guards, they rebelled successfully more than a hundred times on the high seas between Africa and America. Slaves who could not overcome their captors sometimes chose death over bondage by starving themselves or trying to jump overboard. Even after the voyage, some slaves deprived masters of their human property by the drastic measure of suicide.

The rebelliousness of enslaved Africans often made it necessary for them to be "broken in" in the West Indies before they were brought to the southern plantations. This seasoning was a very harsh process, and perhaps a third of all those subjected to it died. The severity of this training may be partly attributable to the fact that most of these islands had more slaves than free whites, and a great show of strength was thought necessary to keep the black majority obedient.

During the three hundred years of the slave trade, Africans were carried to all parts of the Western Hemisphere. In the early period most of them went to the markets of the West Indies. By the eighteenth century the economy of the sugar islands was beginning to decline, and far more slaves were taken to Brazil, to the Spanish colonies of South American, or to the southern United States. (The stream was briefly redirected to the Caribbean with the economic development of Cuba in the nineteenth century.)

It made some difference whether a slave was sent North or South, to a mainland or to an island colony. In an open country like Brazil there was considerable social mixing even during the slave period, and racial prejudice did not solidify. At the opposite extreme were the Caribbean plantation societies, with their rigid caste system separating the white planter class from the free mulattos and the slave group. The southern United States had its own peculiarities, and it was not the same during this early frontier period as it became later when the plantations were fully developed and Cotton was King. The slaves who were bought in the northern states and New England were usually domestic servants or workers on family farms, and consequently they had a fair chance of earning their freedom within a few generations.

The contrasts between slave conditions in various parts of the Americas and in different types of occupation should not be overemphasized, however. In most places, the forced immigrant from Africa was unmistakably a slave, a piece of human chattel with no rights in theory and often less in practice. Some scholars (particularly Brazilians) have theorized that the institution of slavery was milder and more paternalistic in the Catholic, Latin countries than it was in the Protestant North. While this may be true, the fact remains that no African ever chose "mild, paternalistic" Brazilian slavery of his own free will, and slaves in all parts of the Americas rebelled and ran away whenever they had the chance.

Reading Suggestions:

1. Harold Courlander, The African (New York: Crown Publishers, 1968) is a moving novel which tells the story of a young African from his capture at home to his trials on a Georgia plantation. It should be exciting reading for secondary school students. The author is a noted collector of African folk tales and legends.

2. J.A. Rogers, Africa's Gift to America (NY: Futoro, 1961, rev. ed.) is an illustrated history with many excellent pictures of Africa and a graphic representation of the slave trade era.

3. Basil Davidson, Black Mother: The Years of the African Slave Trade (Boston: Little, Brown, 1961) is a very readable account; it tends, however to be somewhat sensationalist, and Davidson's statistics are often suspect.

3. The Revolutionary Period

When we Americans think of the men and women of colonial North America, we think of white pilgrims and farmers and of their red Indian adversaries. But the black man was also here in force. In fact, some of the original thirteen colonies received more immigrants from Africa than from Europe. At the time of the American Revolution, about one fifth of all the people in the United States were Negroes; they numbered just over 750,000 in a total population of under four million.

The great majority of the Negroes in pre-revolution America were to be found in the seaboard colonies from Maryland south, and most of them were slaves. Afro-Americans played a crucial role in the development of the South, not only as common laborers in the rice, tobacco and sugar fields, but also as skilled workers. Most of the carpenters, the blacksmiths, and the workers in sugar mills and tobacco processing plants, were African slaves. Some colonies had more Negroes than whites: in South Carolina, for instance, sixty five percent of the population was made up of slaves. In areas where slaves formed a majority, the fear of rebellion was very great. Therefore these colonies led in developing strict "Slave Codes" for the control of their black populations.

As one moved northwards through the colonies, the proportion of Negroes in the total population diminished, and the ratio of free Negroes to slaves increased. New England did not contain more than 15,000 Afro-Americans, and perhaps three-quarters of these were free men. Even the one fourth in bondage did not suffer as much as their brothers further south. New England had its own Slave Codes, but they were not so harsh as those in the South. Some education of slaves was permitted, and slave marriages were recognized. Within certain limits, slaves were free to move about and meet with their fellows. Most important of all, New England slaves had some hope of earning their freedom. Even with these "advantages," slaves rebelled. Insurrections in New York City in 1712 and 1741 terrified the white inhabitants of the city and led to retaliation against the slaves as a whole. In Boston, slaves were accused of setting a dozen fires in a single week of 1723. Sometimes rebellious slaves made common cause with Indians; a number of settlements were attacked by joint forces of Negroes and Indians. This prompted several towns to pass laws restricting the contact of Negroes and Indians, or forbidding them to come out of doors during fires or other emergencies.

Some free Negroes became famous during the Revolutionary era. The New England poetess, Phillis Wheatley, won acclaim in Europe and at home. Brought as a child from Africa, she had the good fortune to be bought by a kind couple who encouraged her to develop her literary talents. She became well known after George Washington lauded a poem she had written in his honor. Nonetheless, many people still found it difficult to believe that an African could compose such elegant verses.

Perhaps the best known free Negro was the scientist Benjamin Banneker. His parents were free farmers in Maryland, and they were able to send their bright son to school. Benjamin made the first clock ever constructed in colonial America, and he went on to become a brilliant mathematician and astronomer. After the Revolution, Banneker was one of the three men commissioned to lay out a new capital on the Potomac River. A local newspaper described the trio of architects: Andrew Ellicott II, a Frenchman named Pierre Charles L'Enfant, and"Benjamin Banneker, an Ethiopian whose abilities as surveyor and astronomer already proves that Mr. Jefferson's concluding that race of men void of mental endowments was without foundation." From 1791 until 1802, Banneker published yearly Almanacs which were used all over the United States as a source of scientific information.

Paul Cuffe was the son of an ex-slave and an Indian woman. He was born on an island off Massachusetts, and from boyhood was fascinated by the sea and ships. Although he became a wealthy ship-builder and merchant, he did not forget his less fortunate brothers. Cuffe financed Negro education, agitated for the civil rights of free Negroes and Indians, and was an early advocate of the abolition of slavery. At one time he favored the idea of recolonizing American Negroes in their African homeland, and he financed the first emigration scheme out of his own pocket.

The agony of bondage did not really touch the free men and women who made names for themselves in the northern states, but their accomplishments help to dramatize one of the tragedies of slavery. For every Phillis Wheatley or Benjamin Banneker there were hundreds of thousands of slaves who never had the opportunity to acquire even a rudimentary education or to discover their own special talents. We will never know how the story of America might have been changed if the new nation had been able to use the fertile minds as well as the strong backs of these individuals.

The colonists of North America fought a revolutionary war to win their independence from England. Afro-Americans played a part in this battle for freedom. The first man to fall in the revolutionary cause was a runaway slave named Crispus Attacks, a martyr of the Boston Massacre of 1770. Peter Salem, a slave from Framingham, Massachusetts, fought at Lexington and Concord and became the hero of the battle of Bunker Hill when he shot the British commander. More than seven hundred black volunteers from Haiti assisted American troops at the siege of Savannah.

Free Negroes and slaves hastened to enlist in the revolutionary army, until George Washington issued an order barring them from service. In a humiliating proclamation, he forbade recruiting officers to enlist "any stroller, negro, or vagabond." Washington was forced to rescind his ban, however, after the British began promising freedom to slaves who joined their ranks. With enlistment again permitted, two Negro regiments were quickly formed in Massachusetts. In most other states, Negroes fought in the same regiments with white soldiers. Harriet Beecher Stowedescribed the special contribution made by the five thousand black soldiers of the revolution: "It was not for their own land they fought, not even for a land which had adopted them, but for a land which had enslaved them, and whose laws even in freedom oftener oppressed than protected. Bravery, under such circumstances, has a peculiar beauty and merit."

The war for freedom was fought and won by white and black American soldiers. A proud new nation was founded on the rights of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," -- but only for the four fifths of the population which was white and free. The Founding Fathers, many of them slaveowners, soon made it very clear that the stirring sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence were meant to inflame only white souls. At the Constitutional Convention, slavery was recognized in the national charter, and the slave trade was guaranteed at least twenty more years of untroubled existence. Stiff constitutional provisions insured that any slave who sought liberty or pursued happiness by running away from his master would be promptly punished and returned to slavery. The Convention decided that a slave should count as three fifths of a white man for the purpose of apportioning representation; this gave legitimacy to the notion that a Negro was somehow less than a man, while at the same time insuring inflated representation and power to the slaveholders of the South.

The American Revolution is, of course, a milestone in the history of the United States. But its message of freedom was not so clear to black Americans as was another revolution of the same era. In 1791, the slaves of San Domingo in the Caribbean overthrew their French masters and formed the independent black republic of Haiti. The slaveowners of the South attempted to suppress this revolutionary news, and they passed ever stricter laws to keep their own slaves under control. News of the revolt could not be hidden, and a whole series of slave uprisings was inspired by the Haitian events. The Caribbean revolution had another important result for United States history; it helped convince Napoleon to relinquish his dreams of a massive French empire in the New World and thus was a factor in his decision to sell the Louisiana Territory to the United States. This in turn opened new lands for sugar and cotton plantations and permitted the rapid expansion and further entrenchment of the southern slave system.

Reading Suggestions:

1. The best study of the free Negro in the North during the pre-Revolutionary period is *Lorenzo J. Green, The Negro in Colonial New England (Port Washington, N.Y., Kennekan, 1942).

2. Biographical studies can be useful for a study of this epoch. (In fact, for each historical period the teacher should check the Biography section of Part II.) Two by Shirley Graham are suitable for junior high students: The Story of Phillis Wheatley (New York: Messner, 1949); and Your Most Humble Servant (New York: Messner, 1949); the latter is the story of Benjamin Banneker.

3. *Lavinia Dobler and E.A. Toppin, Pioneers and Patriots (Garden City: Doubleday, 1965) is a volume in the Zenith series for intermediate students. The six life sketches included are: Benjamin Banneker, Paul Cuffe, Phillis Wheatley, Peter Salem, John Chavis and Jean Baptiste Pointe de Sable.

4. A comprehensive study of the role of Afro-Americans in the Revolutionary War is *Benjamin Quarles, The Negro in the American Revolution (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1961). Biographical sketches of a number of black revolutionary soldiers can be found in a N.A.A.C.P. booklet, Black Heroes of the American Revolution.

5. An exciting account of Toussaint L'Ouverture's revolution, which also gives a graphic portrayal of West Indian plantation society is: *C.L.R. James, The Black Jacobins (New York: Vintage, 1963).

4. Exploration and Westward Expansion

Afro-Americans have played active roles in the history of the Western frontier since the 1530's. The Spanish and Portuguese explorations in the New World almost always included Negroes, as scouts, slaves, or fighters. For example, there were black men with Balboa when he reached the Pacific and with Cortez when he conquered Mexico. Negroes accompanied every Spanish and Portuguese expedition into the area which is now the United States, and they played a vital role in the extension of Spanish influence north from Mexico. Most of the soldiers on the Mexican frontier were Africans or mulattos. Some of the Spanish-speaking blacks were slaves or ex-slaves from the West Indies; some were free Muslims of African descent from Spain itself.

An African Muslim named Estevanico (or Esteban) was one of the most famous explorers of this early period. He was an advisor to Cortez in Mexico, the first non-Indican to enter New Mexico, and the guide for an expedition to search for the "Seven Cities of Gold". He was killed during this expedition, in 1539, but even centuries later the Zuni Indians of the area told of the black explorer in their stories and histories.

Many Negroes settled in California during the Spanish period. By the late eighteenth century, approximately one quarter of all Spanish speaking peoples in lower California were of African descent. Los Angeles was an Afro-American town more than a hundred and fifty years ago; over half its original settlers were black, and most of the rest were Indian or part-Indian. In 1830 and 1831 the California territory had a black governor named Manuel Victoria. The earliest Afro-Americans in the Far West were, of course, all Spanish-speaking, and they blended easily into the hybrid Indian-African-Spanish society of the frontier. The first English-speaking Negro and the first English-speaking white man to settle permanently in California arrived the same year - 1816.

The westward push of explorers, trappers, and settlers from the coastal colonies began even before the Revolution, but it gathered momentum after the War of Independence. Free Negroes and runaway slaves were active in this movement from the beginning. An educated Negro trader, Jean Baptiste Pointe de Sable, founded the city of Chicago in 1779. (Local Indians used to joke that the first white man in their country had been a black man.) The Lewis and Clark Expedition included a black slave named York; his services as a scout and interpreter were so valuable that Clark freed him after the trip. There were also black "Mountain Men" in the early nineteenth century. The best known were Moses "Black" Harris and Edward Rose, who explored as far west as the Oregon territory.

James Beckwourth was one of the black heroes of the West. He fled from slavery as a young man, was taken into the Crow tribe, and led the Indians in many battles. The black Crow chief also discovered an important route through the Sierra Madre: the Beckwourth Pass. He later settled down, but was reputedly murdered by his Crow followers for having deserted them.

Beckwourth's relationship with the Indians illustrates an important theme in the saga of the Negro on the frontier. Many Negroes were taken into Indian tribes; black men and red men found they could make common cause against a white enemy. (This was a very old story in the West: in 1502 the governor of Mexico complained that African slaves "fled among the Indians and taught them bad customs and would never be recaptured.") From New England to California, from the time of the Pilgrims until the Civil War, runaway slaves sought refuge in Indian villages, raised "Afro-Indian" children, and fought alongside their red brothers.

The classic example of Negro-Indian cooperation involves the "Black Seminoles" of Florida. Spanish Florida was a refuge for generations of fugitives from southern slavery, and many of these runaways were taken into the Seminole tribe. (In fact, the word "seminole" means runaway in the Creek language.) The United States bought Florida in 1819, under intense pressure from slaveholders who hated the existence of a haven for their slaves. Negro-Indian resistance made it necessary for the U.S. government to fight three Seminole Wars, the last of which lasted eight years (from 1835 to 1842), cost the army 1500 soldiers, and was the most expensive Indian war in American history, if, indeed, it can be considered an Indian war. The general of the U.S. forces wrote at the time: "This,you may be assured, is a Negro, not an Indian war."

Afro-Americans in the Far West were not all scouts and Indian fighters. Some of the most successful missionaries to the Indians were American Negroes. A large group of Negroes crossed the Rockies during the rush for California gold. There were several thousand "Forty-Niners", a few of them slaves of white miners, but most of them free Negroes. In the early rough-and-tumble days of the mining camps, Negroes met little overt discrimination. Then, as gold became more scarce and frontier society became established, black miners were gradually squeezed out of the most productive sites. Most of them found other jobs and remained in California.

Another type of black migration westward was under way during the first half of the nineteenth century. The growth of the Cotton Kingdom in the Deep South led to an expansion of the slave system across the Mississippi River. The rich delta area of Louisiana became plantation country, and slaveholders continued to push west. From the 1820's on, large numbers of slaves were brought into Texas. Some Southerners carried their slaves even further west, into Arizona and California, in their search for cotton land. During the 1850's, planters moved their human property into Kansas, in an effort to establish a claim for slavery in the state. Slave expansionism and the contest for control of the western territories became a major issue in the growing conflict between North and South.

The "free states" of the mid-west and west were also being opened for settlement during this period. They, however, represented no land of opportunity for Afro-Americans. The new frontier states were determined to keep out slavery, but they wanted to exclude free Negroes as well. One after another, the free states passed laws prohibiting or restricting the immigration of Negroes. Where black people were allowed to settle they usually encountered discriminatory laws and practices and social segregation. "Western democracy," in general, was lily-white. Racism and Jim Crow moved steadily westward, all the way to the Pacific. California in 1849 passed a law which disenfranchised persons of African or part-African ancestry, thus marking the end of over three hundred years of relative racial tolerance in that region.

Reading Suggestions:

1. *Jack D. Forbes, Afro-Americans in the Far West (Berkeley: Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, 1967) is an outstanding contribution to Afro-American studies. The author brings together a great deal of little-known information about the early explorations and westward expansion. The scope of his study is far wider than its title would indicate, and it is an invaluable handbook for educators.

2. Two satisfactory works exist on the saga of the Seminole Indians. The most comprehensive is Henrietta Buckmaster, The Seminole Wars (New York: Collier, 1966). Suitable for junior high students is *Irwin N. Peithman, The Unconquered Seminole Indians (St. Petersburg, Florida: Great Outdoors, 1957)

5. Emergence of the Cotton Kingdom

During the first years of the United States republic, the southern states lagged behind in economic development. The slave states were a kind of backwater, showing economic decline and cultural stagnation. Serious Southerners were concerned, and some began to realize that the inefficient slave system was at least partially responsible for their backwardness and lack of progress.

Then, just when slavery seemed to be growing obsolete, the institution got a new lease on life. It is ironic that a technological innovation, the invention of the cotton gin, was responsible for salvaging an outmoded social and economic system and making possible its fullest development. The gin invented by Eli Whitney could do the work of fifty slaves in cleaning and preparing the cotton fibre for processing. Almost immediately, the price of cotton fell, and what had been a luxury fabric became the common cloth of all the world. The sharply increased demand for cotton cloth inspired planters to seek more land and more workers.

A few statistics illustrate the enormous changes which occured as Cotton became King in the American South. At the turn of the century, the United States had only about a million slaves; by the time of the Civil War there were four million. As the demand for slaves grew, their price rose sharply, from about 200 dollars to ten times that amount. Cotton production skyrocketed after the invention of the gin, going from a few million bales to about two billion bales a year. Geographical expansion was equally striking: the heart of the cotton kingdom moved steadily west from the Carolinas into Alabama and the delta region of Louisiana. Nor did cotton stop at the Mississippi River; soon the profitable crop was being grown in Kansas, Texas and Arkansas.

In 1807, as cotton expansion was getting under way, Congress passed a law prohibiting the African slave trade. This should not be considered primarily a move against slavery itself; in a way it was actually aimed at preserving the institution of slavery. Many slaveholders supported the legislation because they feared the impact of raw and rebellious African slave imports or of revolutionary Negroes from the West Indies.

Even a partial closing of the supply of new imports caused problems for the slaveholders. As planters moved into new lands, they displayed an almost insatiable demand for slave labor. This situation gave rise to the domestic slave trade, a particularly infamous chapter in the history of slavery in the United States. Farmers in the border states and Virginia, finding that they could no longer compete with the frontier plantations in the business of raising cotton, went into the business of raising slaves. There was systemmatic breeding of slaves to increase the number of hands available for sale to the commercialized plantations of the Deep South. A Virginian of the time admitted that his home was a "Negro-raising state" and claimed that it was able to export 6000 slaves a year because of breeding. In the last decades of slavery, the border states shipped South about 25,000 slaves a year. It hardly need be pointed out that the business of slave-raising had detrimental effects on slave family life and stability.

The half-century which preceded the Civil War saw the fullest development of the slave system and the emergence of a unique plantation society. The cotton plantation of the Far South was a highly organized production unit (although its viability in purely economic terms is still much disputed). The life of a Negro slave on such a plantation was not an enviable one. As a field laborer, he often worked "from can't-see in the morning 'till can't-see at night," to pick his 150 or 200 pounds of cotton. Not all slaves worked in the cotton fields, of course. Domestic slaves usually enjoyed better conditions and a higher status, although they lived with the constant threat of being demoted to "field nigger" if they fell out of favor with their master or mistress. Some slaves became expert carpenters or acquired other skills; their masters often realized a regular income by hiring these talented slaves out to neighbors. At various times, slaves filled virtually every position in the complex life of the plantation -- except that of master. They were tailors, preachers, smiths, concubines, gardeners, horse trainers, wetnurses, and barbers. They were also overseers, bodyguards, and paid informers. With their forced labor and their various skills, the black slaves transformed the Mississippi delta from a wild frontier into plantation country. But to them the Deep South remained a hell. Slaves of the border states begged, schemed, fought, and fled to avoid being sent South.

The common picture of the ante-bellum South is a confused assortment of images from popular films and novels, abolitionist tracts, and the writings of southern apologists. There are several myths that run rampant through this composite image, and they must be dispelled if we are to arrive at any real understanding of this historic period. Perhaps the three most persistent myths are those which concern the role of the planter class, the stability of "paternalistic" slavery, and the docility of the slave himself.

The wealthy and proud planters so popular in historical fiction were certainly not typical white southerners. In fact, the typical white man in the South was not even a slaveowner. Less than one percent of southerners owned slaves. Only about 40,000 men were masters of twenty or more slaves. The owners of the large gangs of plantation slaves formed a very tiny and select group indeed. The true planter aristocrats numbered perhaps 3,000, at a time when the South had a population of eight million white men and four million Negroes.

In spite of their small numbers, members of the slaveholding aristocracy found themselves able to dominate the social, economic and political life of the South. The large plantations were much more productive than small farms, and hence could concentrate on cash crops for export. The planters therefore collected most of the profits of the great cotton boom. They came in this way to control businesses, banks and other financial institutions. Political power in the southern states became firmly fixed in the hands of the major planters and of businessmen and professionals who were linked to them by intimate family ties. Moreover, with their distinctive and luxurious way of life, the plantation owners established the social and cultural values for the South as a whole.

In order to maintain slavery, euphemistically called the South's "peculiar institution," the planters needed the support of the great majority of whites who owned no slaves and had no direct economic stake in slavery. Non-slaveholders were encouraged to believe that they too would some day own slaves. In the case of some "poor whites," this dream was too unrealistic to be effective; these poor farmers were persuaded that the institution of slavery was the only thing which could keep them from being the despised bottom layer of society.

Another misconception about slavery is the idea that it developed into a stable system which was generally paternalistic and without undue strains and contradictions. One often finds the following type of statement in American history texts: "Although there were a few cruel slavemasters, the system itself was not unduly harsh. The slave was, after all, a valuable piece of merchandise, and most owners were careful not to harm their human property." Most modern authorities have, however, reached the opposite conclusion: that slavery was maintained only by elaborate and pervasive controls and extensive use of force, and that the slave system never achieved any degree of normalcy in social relationships or any real civil peace. It was the system itself which was oppressive, and not the exceptional Simon Legree slavemaster.

Every southern state passed a long list of laws to control slaves by regulating all aspects of the bondsman's daily existence. An historian has summarized some of the legal restrictions: "Slaves were forbidden to assemble without the permission and presence of responsible whites, were not to own or carry arms of any kind, were not to trade, buy, sell, or engage in any other economic activity without the permission of their masters, were not to be off the plantation grounds at any time or on the city streets after nine or ten in the evening without written permission, were not to practice or administer medicine, were not to lift their hands against any white person, were not to be taught to read or write, and were not permitted to testify in court in any case involving a white person."

There were other techniques that never made it into the statute books. One, known to masters everywhere, was to "divide and rule," usually by awarding special favors or a privileged position to house slaves and body servants. Thus the slaves were turned against each other, and loyal favorites could be persuaded to reveal the plans and activities of their fellow slaves. A crucial method of control, one that forms an overriding theme of the whole slavery epoch, was the psychological campaign to make the slaves themselves accept slavery as their normal and inevitable status in life. The intellectual leaders of the South were put to work devising religious, racial and cultural arguments that would instill in the Negro slave a sense of his own inferiority and impotence.

When these laws and practices failed to keep the slaves in line, the master could and did fall back on the use of force. The individual owner had a virtually unlimited right to use violence against his own slaves, even to the point of taking their lives. He was backed up by local slave patrols and state militias, which tracked down runaways and moved quickly to quell slave resistance. Finally, there was the armed strength of the federal government: much of the United States army was permanently stationed in the South to assist in putting down slave unrest.

The most persistent myth about slavery is that it was accepted by the slaves themselves -- either because the condition was tolerable or because they were too stupid or too passive to do anything about it. Contrary to this view, history reveals the saga of slave resistance. There is ample evidence that black men have been no more adjusted to bondage than white men, and that they have fought for freedom since the first slavetrader arrived in Africa.

One little-known aspect of the slave's struggle was his unspectacular, often covert, day-by-day resistance to slavery. This was not open rebellion but rather a silent but persistent campaign to make life as difficult and as unprofitable as possible for the slaveowner. Slaves slowed up at work and stopped their labor altogether when the eye of the overseer was not on them. Revenge was sometimes sought through the willful though surreptitious destruction of property, ranging from the misuse of tools and work animals to arson. Malingering was common; many slaves pretended to be sick or pregnant or crippled in order to inconvenience their masters and get lighter work assignments. In some cases, slaves purposely incapacitated themselves for work.

Resistance methods such as these obviously fed the prejudices of Southerners and have contributed to the diffusion of racist stereotypes about lazy, irresponsible, or dishonest Negroes. But no racist premises are necessary to explain such behavior: after all, why should a slave work any harder or more carefully than was absolutely necessary to avoid punishment? The truth is that his regular day-by-day resistance was a powerful way for the slave to take revenge on his master. It made the whole economic system inefficient, cut into profits, and was virtually impossible to combat. Furthermore, it could usually be carried out with impunity.

For some slaves, however, this undramatic daily battle against the masters' interests was not enough. They sought not just retaliation, but freedom and the opportunity to live a normal human existence.

During the years before the Civil War there were at least 250 slave rebellions and conspiracies. Such insurrections were almost invariably crushed, usually with considerable brutality. Against all odds, they continued to occur, bringing fear to the white slaveowners and insecurity to the whole South. Unfortunately, only a few of these revolts have been recorded by history in any kind of detail.

In 1800 an intensely religious slave named Gabriel Posser organized an army of several thousand slaves for an attack on Richmond, Virginia. His plot was betrayed, but might still have been successful had not a deluge of rain washed away bridges and closed the routes into Richmond. Before he was hanged, Gabriel made a speech in which he compared his own battle for freedom to that of George Washington.

Denmark Vesey, a powerful ex-slave, preached to his followers about the deliverance of the children of Israel out of bondage, and he taught them the lessons of Toussaint L'Ouverture of Haiti. In 1821, he organized between 6500 and 9000 slaves, and drew up plans for an attack on Charleston. A house slave betrayed the scheme to his master, and Vesey and his lieutenants were executed.

The most famous slave rebel of all was Nat Turner. In a sudden sweep through the Virginia countryside, he and his followers killed sixty whites in a single day of 1831. They were turned back outside the town of Jerusalem, although Nat himself was not captured and hanged until almost two months later. The Turner rebellion brought panic to the white south and repression to the slaves. There was a rash of lynchings. Legislatures met in emergency sessions and passed Slave Codes of unprecedented severity. The nervous South was almost transformed into an armed camp, and slaves found it increasingly difficult to plan an insurrection. Nevertheless, they continued to rebel.

There are certain patterns which emerge from an inspection of these three revolts and the hundreds of less famous ones. Most were betrayed by Negro informers, usually house slaves or free servants. A surprising number of white men were willing to take up arms against black slavery. For example, two Frenchmen were involved in Gabriel's plot, and four whites were convicted of helping Vesey. Another slave rebellion in 1816 was led by a white man named George Boxley. The slave revolts, when not betrayed in the planning stage, were almost always smashed by force. Such defeats were usually followed by a wave of repression, especially when the uprising had been of major proportions.

As the nineteenth century wore on, a campaign against slavery gathered steam in the North. The abolitionist movement forms an important chapter in American history, and we will turn next to an examination of its accomplishments. It should be clear, however, that the fight for freedom was not started by Quakers or Northern abolitionists. That battle was begun by the slaves themselves, and for several hundred years they fought it alone.

Reading Suggestions:

1. The modern interpretation of slavery is presented in a well-documented study which is at the same time highly readable and suitable for school use: *Kenneth M. Stampp, The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South (New York: Vintage, 1956).

2. *Frederick Douglass, Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass (New York: Dolphin Books, 1963). This short narrative is one of three autobiographical works by the famous abolitionist; in simple, personal terms he tells the story of his slave childhood.

3. *Benjamin Botkin (ed.), Lay My Burden Down: A Folk History of Slavery (Chicago: Phoenix Books, 1945) portrays the condition of slavery through the words of ex-slaves. It is recommended for secondary school students.

4. *Euguene D. Genovese, The Political Economy of Slavery (New York: Pantheon Books, 1965). This collection of outstanding studies will prove interesting to the teacher and the advanced student.

5. A basic work is *Herbert Aptheker's American Negro Slave Revolts (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943). The thoroughly documented survey has received wide recognition as a pioneering piece of research.

6. The Antislavery Movement

As the slave system hardened and extended its sphere South and West, anti-slavery sentiments also spread and took root. Inspired by the defiance of the slaves themselves, Negroes and white reformers in the free states joined forces to campaign against the outrages of slavery.

The pioneers of the abolitionist movement in the early years of the nineteenth century were usually free Negroes of the North. Sometimes these men were themselves ex-slaves; often they had friends and relatives still in bondage. Furthermore, their own position was none too secure. Professional slave catchers roamed the North, and many free black men were kidnapped and sold to the South. The schemes to recolonize black Americans on the African continent provoked an immediate response by free Negroes and provided the issue around which they first organized. They noted that proponents of colonization were anti-Negro and pro-slavery, and they correctly surmised that emigration was designed to drain off the troublesome free black population and thus make the institution of slavery more secure. Groups of individuals who began by denouncing colonization soon undertook a campaign against slavery itself.

The militant crusade against slavery began in 1828, with the publication in Boston of a dramatic abolition pamphlet. Its black author, David Walker, preached a revolutionary message that struck fear into the slaveholders' hearts. Southern legislatures held secret emergency sessions, and in many areas it became a capital crime even to possess a copy of Walker's Appeal. The South's reaction is not surprising, for Walker's call was written in words of fire. Few masters could sleep easily with their slaves reading or hearing such passages as these: "America is more our country than it is the whites-- we have enriched it with our blood and tears... The Americans have got so fat on our blood and groans, that they have almost forgotten the God of armies. But let them go on. Remember Americans, that we must and shall be free, and, enlightened as you are, will you wait until we shall, under God, obtain our liberty by the crushing arm of power? Will it not be dreadful for you? I speak Americans for your good. We must and shall be free, I say, in spite of you."

Both white and Negro abolitionists responded to Walker's call, and to reports of the growing oppressiveness of slavery in the South. In order to build an effective movement against slavery they needed an organization and an active press. William Lloyd Garrison, the most famous white crusader, began publishing his influential Liberator in Boston in 1831, and he was a founder of the American Anti-Slavery Society two years later. The movement spawned other major newspapers, such as Frederick Douglass' North Star, and a succession of short-lived papers: The Mystery, The Colored Man's Journal, The Anglo-African, and a host of others. The abolitionist movement also produced a new American literary genre, the ex-slave narrative. Literally scores of memoirs by fugitives appeared after 1840, and many of these volumes enjoyed considerable popularity.

In pamphlets and petitions and from hundreds of speakers' platforms, the abolitionists spelled out their arguments against slavery. Many were religious men, and they denounced slavery as a crime against God and the teachings of the Christian Church. They made other charges as well. Slavery, they said, was contrary to the fundamental principles of American life and made a travesty of the rights enshrined in the Declaration of Independence. It was unsound as an economic system, since a slave rarely toiled like a free man working for himself. The slave system had unfortunate cultural and social results, for the master-slave relationship brought out the worst in both parties. Finally, they argued, slavery was obviously becoming a menace to the peace and safety of the nation, as fears of slave insurrection brought violence and hatred.

Churches and religious leaders fought on both sides in the battle over slavery, and some even managed to remain neutral. A growing number of churchmen came out against slavery during the abolitionist era. The Quakers were, of course, early defenders of individual freedom, and they formed a consistent and important wing of the anti-slavery movement. Many Negro churches were also associated with the drive to liberate the slaves. These included the new and growing separatist churches, as well as Negro churches of the Methodist and Baptist denominations. (The white leadership of the Methodist and Baptist churches had condemned slavery in the late eighteenth century, but both had retracted their resolutions under pressure from southern congregations.)

The very success of the abolitionists brought them certain problems. As the movement grew and incorporated disparate tendencies, disputes arose over tactics and demands and even long-range goals. There was always a wing which wanted to compromise or draw back, which thought that moral suasion would eventually convince the slaveholders to relinquish voluntarily their four billion dollars worth of ebony chattel.

Those who spoke out most forcefully against compromise and insisted that the struggle continue until every slave was liberated were often black abolitionists. Many had grown up in bondage and seen its horrors, and they harbored few illusions about the possibility of containing or reforming or tolerating American slavery. Speaking from their own experiences, the fugitive abolitionists were often the most poignant and effective anti-slavery agitators.

The abolitionist Frederick Douglass was a giant among big men. He had fought his way out of slavery to become the most famous spokesman of his race and an inspiration to men who loved freedom everywhere. The Anti-Slavery Society hired him as a lecturer in 1841, but was almost embarrassed by the power of his oratory. They cautioned him against appearing too proud or learned, and enjoined him to stick to his own story and leave the conclusions and plans to the Society's leaders. But, as Douglass said, "It did not entirely satisfy me to narrate wrong. I felt like denouncing them." And denounce them he did -- with words that stirred and shamed audiences on both sides of the Atlantic.

Frederick Douglass is now remembered as the greatest crusader against slavery, but his audiences knew him as the defender of all the poor and oppressed. In Ireland he campaigned for home rule and was introduced as "the Black O'Connell." Back at home, he spoke out against mistreatment of American Indians and Chinese immigrants, exposed the neglect of education of the poor, demanded an end to capital punishment, and was a powerful ally of women struggling for equal rights. The great reformer did not retire after the Emancipation Proclamation. Until his death in 1895, Douglass used his fame and influence to pressure insure true liberty and dignity to the freedmen.

Henry Highland Garnet was cut from the same cloth as Frederick Douglass, although history has not memorialized him in the same way. At the National Negro Convention of 1843, the young black minister from New York presented a resolution that urged slaves to oppose their masters by any means necessary. In his "Address to the Slaves of the U.S.," Garnet scorned the passive acceptance of slavery, and expressed his love of freedom in fiery words that are reminiscent of David Walker: "But you are a patient people. You act as though you were made for the special use of these devils. You act as though your daughters were born to pamper the lusts of your masters and overseers. And worse than all, you tamely submit while your lords tear your wives from your embrace and defile them before your eyes. In the name of God, we ask, are you men? ... Let your motto be resistance! resistance! RESISTANCE! No oppressed people have ever secured their liberty without resistance... Remember that you are FOUR MILLIONS."

A Negro abolitionist named William Whipper chose very different tactics than those advocated by Garnet. The wealthy free Negro from Philadelphia was an early apostle of passive resistance; in 1837 he delivered "An Address on Non-Violent Resistance to Offensive Aggression." Like Ghandi and Martin Luther King, Whipper claimed that non-violence was "not only consistent with reason, but the surest method of obtaining a speedy triumph of the principles of universal peace."

One of the most eloquent anti-slavery speakers was the fugitive Samuel Ringgold Ward. Like dozens of other well-known black abolitionists, he toured Europe speaking against slavery. Though mocked for being "so black that when he closed his eyes you could not see him," Ward refused to consider his color a shame or liability. He told his white audience: "the only consolation that has been offered me for being called nigger was that when I die and go to heaven, I shall be white. But, if I cannot go to heaven, as black as God made me, let me go down to hell and dwell with the Devil forever."

In an age when women rarely braved public lives, two black women achieved greater fame than any male abolitionist except Douglass. Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman fought the same battle, but one as a "talking soldier" and the other a "walking soldier."

Gaunt and six feet tall, Sojourner Truth was so imposing that no one who saw her on a platform ever forgot her. She was illiterate and spoke the coarse language of an ex-slave, but the most polished orator in the country did not dare meet her in public debate. She traveled all over the North, preaching against slavery and hypnotizing audiences with her deep voice and powerful, sure manner. In some towns this mother of five was beaten and stoned, but her moving exhortations could not be silenced.

Harriet Tubman was no public speaker. And no one ever remembered her as an imposing figure -- which was lucky, since the little black woman had to shuffle through towns where there was a $40,000 price on her head, with only a sunbonnet as a disguise. Her people called her Moses, and John Brown called her General. She was a woman, but she was John Brown's kind of man, and he praised her as "the most of a man that I ever met with." Harriet fled from slavery alone and then went back nineteen times to bring more than three hundred men and women out to freedom. The most famous "conductor" on the Underground Railroad never lost a passenger. When faint-hearted charges wanted to turn back and jeopardize the rescue, Harriet pointed her gun at them and quietly stated, "You'll be free or die." All reached free soil safely. During the Civil War, "General Moses" led many raids and information-gathering forays behind enemy lines.

The story of the anti-slavery movement cannot be told without mention of the "running abolitionists," the tens of thousands of slaves who fled north along the dangerous Underground Railroad. They came alone, as families, and in perilously large groups. They used every conceivable trick and disguise to elude their pursuers: one group walked out of the slave South as a solemn funeral procession. They came in wagons, in boats, and in trains, and one Henry Brown arrived in Philadelphia in a box marked "This Side Up." But mostly they walked. Frightened and often hungry, the slaves traveled at night with a brave escort or with only the North Star and the moss on the north side of trees to guide them.

History has not recorded the names of these men and women who fought with their feet against the tyranny of slavery. We do know that the blow they dealt the South was a serious one, for the Underground Railroad became a heated issue in the deepening political conflice between North and South. By 1850, it is estimated that 100,000 slaves had trekked through the night to freedom, causing a loss to the slaveholders of over 30 million dollars worth of property. The constant stream of fugitives, with their grisly stories of the past and their hunger for liberty in the "Promised Land," kept the abolition movement alive. They were an insistent and unwelcome reminder to those who wanted only to forget the tiresome slavery question; and they plagued northerners who wanted to dismiss slavery as a minor regional problem which concerned only the South.

The Underground Railroad needed no tracks or locomotives, but it did require stations, conductors, maps and plans, emergency funds, and a great deal of courage. Someone had to provide the runaway "passengers" with food, clothing, often medicine, safe hiding places, and guidance through unfamiliar and hostile territory. Maintaining this very special transportation network was a significant part of the work of the abolitionist movement. Thousands were actively involved, from the Deep South to the Canadian border. Like the fugitives they helped, most of these workers remain anonymous. Only the most prominent operators have been remembered, but they are enough to show that the "management" of this enterprise was thoroughly integrated.

An Indiana Quaker named Levi Coffin was given the title of President of the Underground Railroad, and he received all the grateful prayers and angry curses that accompanied such a position. Other whites risked social ostracism and physical danger to their own families by harboring slave refugees in their homes. Perhaps the most audacious conductor of all was a young white Virginian named John Fairfield, son of a slave-owning aristocrat.

There were many Negro officials on the freedom railroad, some of them ex-passengers. David Ruggles was in charge of operations for New York City, and William Still had the same responsibilities in Philadelphia. Harriet Tubman was only the most famous of the hundreds of black operators who returned to the dread slave states to help show their brothers and sisters the way to freedom.

By 1850, the stage was set for civil war. A quarter century of abolitionist agitation had created mass awareness of the slavery issue, generated important support in Europe for the anti-slavery cause, and given sustenance to thousands of black Americans struggling for freedom. The abolitionist movement did not cause the "irrepressible conflict," however. A bitter confrontation between North and South was probably inevitable, for the slave system had become an obstacle to economic development.

The slaveholders blocked industrial growth in the nation as a whole by voting down tariffs, opposing measures for the protection of business, fighting expenditures on railroads and other forms of capital development. Slavery made it impossible for the South to play the economically dynamic role which the frontier states came to assume: slaves were a hopelessly inefficient and immobile labor force; they had zero purchasing power and thus provided no market for domestic industry. The entrenched political power of the southern aristocracy depended on a complex social and economic system founded on slavery, so ultimately the future prosperity of the nation as a whole made it necessary to dismantle that system.

It is sterile, however, to view the Civil War as a private contest between an obsolete aristocracy and a rising industrial class, which had nothing to do with slavery or the slaves. It had everything to do with slavery; and the slaves and their abolitionist allies were hardly idle bystanders. The ultimate sources of conflict may have been hidden far below the surface; but on the surface, where flesh-and-blood men and women were carrying out the drama of resolving this conflict, the anti-slavery movement was a powerful influence.

As all aspects of the challenge to slavery deepened, the South reacted with increasingly aggressive and intolerant defense of its "peculiar institution." Dissent and doubt were virtually outlawed, and the white South fell into line behind the champions of slavery. They answered the attacks of northern abolitionists and the growing rebelliousness of of slaves with defiant claims that slavery was both necessary and just. The apologists insisted that the slave system was vital to the economic development of the South, and they pointed with pride to the high civilization which white men had built on the backs of slaves. Southern writers justified black enslavement in pseudo-scientific treatises on the inferiority of the Negro race, and they even resurrected the old argument about slavery being a moral and humane way of teaching "Christian civilization" to the heathen.

An elaborate compromise was devised by Congress in 1850, but it soon became apparent that no legislative balancing-act could satisfy both the militant abolitionists and the intransigent slaveholders. The publication of Uncle Tom's Cabin in 1852 widened the rift by swelling the ranks of abolitionist sympathizers and infuriating the South. After the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, the contest between Free Soilers and pro-slavery invaders developed into a vicious war for control of the territories. "Bleeding Kansas" became the first battleground of the Civil War. The Supreme Court did nothing to improve relations when it handed down the Dred Scott decision in 1857; the high judges ruled that a slave remained personal property without the rights of a citizen, even in the so-called "free states."

With the benefit of hindsight, the historian now says that conflict was inevitable by the late 1850's, that no amount of compromise could heal the breach between North and South, and that nothing short of armed forces could ever free America's black slaves. At least one man had reached the same conclusions by 1859. He was a white man from upstate New York, a veteran of the Free Soil battle in Kansas, and his name was John Brown. In October, 1859, he and a small band of his comrades seized the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, as the first step in military operations against the slaveowners of Virginia. The tiny army was defeated, and most of the rebels, black and white, were killed. Before John Brown was hanged, he made a prophetic statement which put into words the love of freedom and justice which he had already proved in action: "I pity the poor in bondage that have none to help them; that is why I am here... It is my sympathy with the oppressed and wronged, that are as good as you and as precious in the sight of God... You may dispose of me easily, but this question is still to be settled --the negro question --the end of that is not yet."

Reading Suggestions:

1. The anti-slavery movement is a field in which there exists a particularly rich and extensive collection of biographical material. See the Biography section for lives of Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, John Brown, and others.

2. *Louis Filler, The Crusade Against Slavery 1830-1860 (New York: 1960) is a well written account of the abolitionist movement and its major protagonists.

3. *Dwight Lowell Dumond, Antislavery (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961) is a scholarly history of abolitionism.

4. Henrietta Buckmaster has written two books about the Underground Railroad: *Let My People Go (New York, Harper & Row, 1940) is a dramatic narrative with many exciting episodes and characters; Flight to Freedom (New York: Crowell, 1958) covers much the same subject matter but is directed toward younger readers.

7. War Between the States

With the Battle of Fort Sumter in early 1861, America's civil war officially began. The newly-inaugurated President Lincoln protested regularly that the war's purpose was to preserve Union and not to destroy slavery. Indeed, Lincoln initially insisted that the war had nothing to do with slavery. But the slaves knew better.

As soon as they heard about the outbreak of war -- and slave channels of communication were mysteriously swift -- bondsmen began to flee to the Union territory. In a rare coincidence, the first fugitives to seek refuge in a Union camp, in May 1861, came to almost the exact spot where the first Africans had landed in America in 1619. Then the floodgates opened. Tens of thousands of black men, often with their families, flocked to the places where blue-clad army troops were stationed. During its first nine months on the Georgia coast, the Union army was inundated by 15,000 fugitives from middle Georgia alone.

The runaways were often put to good use. They were the army's most important source of military intelligence and were frequently sent back into Confederate territory as scouts or guides. They brought grave problems to the Union forces, of both a legal and practical nature. Lincoln steadfastly refused to make a policy decision regarding the ultimate status of fugitives: some Union generals, in fact, returned the runaways to their masters; others designated them "contraband of war" and gave them work; a stubborn few tried valiantly to ignore them. The only thing a general could not do with his refugees was free them; Fremont tried, but his proclamation was revoked by the President. Accommodating the refugees involved immense practical difficulties. Confusion and real hardship can hardly be avoided when thousands of men, women and children live in the wake of an army during wartime.

Still the slaves came, in a "general strike" of Southern labor that in the end involved perhaps half a million people. Just by walking away, they deprived the Confederacy of a vital segment of its work force. Slaves were relied on to grow the region's food, build its military fortifications and perform a myriad of tasks in order to free virtually all white men for service in the Confederate army.

Desperate measures were taken to prevent this work force from being drained away. Slaves were told gruesome stories of how Union soldiers killed and ate Negroes, worked them to death, or sold them to Cuba. A common practice was called "running the Negroes": moving slaves from an insecure position near the front line to a place further in the interior. Often it was necessary to impress slaves for the construction of military works; at such labors they were carefully policed.

The "general strike" of the runaways could not be broken, however. And even those Negroes who remained on their plantations often found some way of aiding the Union cause. A tribute by an aide to General Sherman records part of the black contribution to the Union effort. "When I think of the universal testimony of our soldiers, who enter our lines every day, that in the hundreds of miles which they traverse on their way, they never ask the poor slave in vain for help; that the poorest Negro hides and shelters them, and shares the last crumb with them -- all this impresses me with a weight of obligation and a love for them that stirs the very depths of my soul."

The free Negroes of the North also "misunderstood" the Civil War. They too thought it was a war to free their brothers, and thus that it was in a very special way their own war. In virtually every northern city -- Boston, Providence, New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Cleveland, Detroit and others -- the black population organized militias which tried to enlist in the Union ranks. But they were turned down as quickly as they volunteered. The government insisted that black soldiers had no part in a private quarrel between white Southerners and white Northerners.

The War Department assured the public that the runaway slaves in Union army camps would never be given arms. But a courageous, if eccentric, General Hunter was faced with the choice of arming the available and eager Negroes around his camp or of leading his troops down to certain defeat at the hands of a superior Confederate force. When the news reached Washington that Hunter had put guns in the hands of ex-slaves, Congress passed an outraged resolution and the scandalized War Department demanded an explanation. Hunter sent them a scornful reply, which began: "No regiment of 'fugitive slaves' has been, or is being, organized in this department. There is, however, a fine regiment of loyal persons whose late masters are fugitive rebels."

Hunter was reprimanded for his action, but before long other officers were impelled to follow his example. The war dragged on, waged with growing bitterness and seriousness. No end was in sight. Disease decimated the Union ranks: twenty seven regiments were lost by disease every year. Violent white resistance to the draft made it doubtful that the Union would ever raise a sufficiently large white army to assure victory.

Once they had been admitted into the Union forces, black soldiers fought as if to make up for lost time. Their contribution was decisive in many battles, and they received the highest praise from some of their officers. Often the black late-comers fought with special disadvantages: they received inferior equipment and were served by inadequate medical facilities. A white soldier was paid ten dollars a month, but the black man who fought next to him received only seven dollars a month. (One Negro regiment, the Massachusetts 54th, refused to accept any wages for eighteen months until they finally won an equal salary with whites.) The Afro-American combatant also had to live with the fear of what might happen to him if he fell into Confederate hands. Sometimes Southerners brutally tortured and killed black prisoners. At Fort Pillow, the rebels massacred three hundred black people after the fort surrendered. For all these reasons, the mortality rate was much higher among Negro soldiers; at least 40,000 lost their lives in the Civil War.

The navy was one field of service in which blacks made a significant contribution to the war effort. Free Negroes has been conspicuous in the merchant marine before the war, and continued to serve at sea during the conflict. About one sixth of all seamen on the Union side were black.

At the beginning of the war, most white Northerners deemed it unthinkable that black men should be armed; some found the idea of a black soldier hilarious. But the laughter stopped when battle reports began coming in from the Afro-American regiments. At the height of the war, in 1863, Lincoln told the nation what the black troops meant: "There are now in the service of the United States near two hundred thousand able-bodied colored men, most of them under arms, defending and acquiring Union territory... _Abandon all the posts now garrisoned by black men: take two hundred thousand men from our side and put them in the battlefield or cornfield against us, and we would be compelled to abandon the war in three weeks._" (Emphasis in original)

Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation is justly regarded as one of the most important documents in American hsitory. The preliminary proclamation, issued in September, 1862, came as a tremendous surprise to many people: only a few months earlier, Lincoln had sponsored a mild piece of legislation which merely said the federal government would "cooperate" with states that voluntarily chose to phase out slavery by compensating slaveowners for their property. Lincoln's military advisers were not surprised, however. They realized that victory depended on freeing the slaves in rebel territory and on making black soldiers available for the Union fight. The Emancipation Proclamation served still another purpose: it transformed the war from a commitment to national unity into a fight against slavery, and for this it won much-needed moral support at home and in Europe. England had been moving toward recognition of the secessionist South, but the anti-slavery sentiments of the English people made this step impossible after the Emancipation Proclamation. As a military measure, Emancipation was successful, and the war was won. As a document of freedom, however, the Proclamation left many questions unanswered. Three constitutional amendments (the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth) were still necessary to establish the legal status of the Negro as a free citizen.

Reading Suggestions:

1. The most comprehensive study of this subject is Benjamin Quarles, _The Negro in the Civil War_ (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1953).

2. A more popular account of the activity of black Union soldiers is *Dudley Taylor Cornish, _The Sable Arm_ (New York: Norton, 1956).

3. *James M. McPherson, The Negro's Civil War (New York: Pantheon, 1965) tells its story through eyewitness accounts and the words of black soldiers themselves.

4. *Thomas W. Higginson, Army Life in a Black Regiment (New York: Collier, 1962) is an exciting personal record by the white commander of the first ex-slave regiment.

8. "Black Power" During the Reconstruction Period

What was to be done with the defeated South? That was the question on everyone's mind as the Civil War came to an end with Lee's surrender. Lincoln's announced plan was to reintegrate southern states into the Union as soon as ten percent of the pre-war voters took an oath of loyalty. Andrew Johnson, who became president as a result of the assasination of Lincoln, was even more lenient to the secessionists. He was liberal with pardons to the Confederate leaders, allowing them to retain their land and political power. He withdrew almost all federal troops from the South, leaving the newly freed slaves defenseless.

Under Johnson's "Restoration" plan, the southern states voted the old slaveholding aristocracy back into power. In 1866, they brazenly sent scores of top Confederate officers to Washington -- one new Congressman was the former Vice President of the Confederacy, Alexander Stephens! Southern legislatures enacted "Black Codes" that made a mockery of emancipation by applying the restrictions of the old Slave Codes to all free Negroes. Even the slave trade was not absent: in 1866 there reportedly was a big trade in the shipment of kidnapped freedmen to Brazil and Cuba. Terror was unchecked: anti-Negro riots in New Orleans and Memphis enjoyed the active backing of the police.

The anti-slavery forces had won the war, but they were rapidly losing the peace. Led by Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner, the "Radical Republicans" in Washington condemned the virtual re-enslavement of black people in the South and moved to halt it. Although Congress failed (by a single vote) to impeach Andrew Johnson, the lawmakers did succeed in taking the direction of Reconstruction out of the President's hands. The Republicans passed three crucial constitutional amendments, abolishing slavery, declaring the Negro a citizen, and granting him the right to vote. They took the important step of mandating federal troops to enforce the Reconstruction acts and defend the rights and lives of freedmen in the South.

"Radical Reconstruction" lasted only from 1867 to 1876. This much-maligned decade is a fascinating episode in the drama of American history, and it holds many surprises for the researcher. A Civil Rights Bill was passed a hundred years ago which was more extensive and had more rigorous provisions for enforcement than the famous legislation of 1964. Twenty-two Negroes served in the United States Congress, and dozens were elected to state legislatures during the Reconstruction era. Southern towns had black sheriffs, mayors, judges and policemen. Three states had Negro lieutenant governors. The South Carolina House of Representatives was the only state assembly with a Negro majority, but hundreds of local communities were under the control of their black residents.

There were many outstanding Afro-American leaders during the Reconstruction period. Blanche K. Bruce, an ex-slave served a term in the U.S. Senate and was suggested as a possible vice-presidential candidate. Robert Smalls served in both houses of the South Carolina legislature and was a United States Congressman for twelve years. This popular lawmaker had achieved national fame during the war when he captured a Confederate ship, "The Planter," and delivered it over to the Union army. An Eton graduate of West Indian extraction named Robert Elliot delivered what some people consider the most eloquent speech ever heard in the U.S. House of Representatives. Pinckney Stewart Pinchback was Louisiana's Lieutenant Governor and served as Acting Governor for a time; he is undoubtedly the only man ever elected to both the U.S. Senate and the U.S. House of Representatives and denied his seat in both bodies. Other noted Negro figures of this epoch included: Richard Cain, U.S. Congressman from South Carolina and later bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church; John R. Lynch, elected three times to the federal Congress by Mississippi voters; Jonathan J. Wright, a judge of the South Carolina Supreme Court; two U.S. ministers to Haiti and two to Liberia.

Besides the national figures, there were hundreds of local leaders who rose to the occasion of Reconstruction. Many of them were ex-slaves, but they bore little resemblance to the foolish pawns of "carpetbaggers" so common in racist stereotypes of the post-war period. The laws passed by the "black-and-tan" state assemblies sought to uplift the freedman, but they also brought many poor whites their first taste of democratic rights. Hundreds of thousands of whites who had not been able to vote when planters ruled the South voted during the Reconstruction era. The new state constitutions were models of democracy. Negro legislators sponsored the first genuine public education system in the South, and black and white children whose parents could not read were able to go to school.

Freedmen were the first to admit that they needed education in order to exercise their new rights in an informed and responsible manner. The struggle for learning began in the course of the war and gained momentum during Reconstruction. Help came first from northern missionary and abolitionist societies; more than a thousand white teachers came south even before the national Freedman's Bureau was founded. The "Yankee schoolmarm" faced social ostracism, rough conditions, and sometimes physical danger, but she found children "who love the school as white children love a holiday," and she earned the devotion and gratitude of people to whom the right to learn the alphabet was a precious liberty. The journals of these teachers are moving testimonials to the enthusiasm they found: they tell of aged field workers struggling with a grandchild's primer, of long treks to reach a poorly equipped and crowded schoolroom, of incredible sacrifice for the sake of a son's education.

The desire for learning was at least partially satisfied. The cry for land, however, went unanswered. Thaddeus Stevens had first put the demand for "Forty Acres and a Mule" before Congress, and it became a rallying cry for the black freedman. Stevens understood that real freedom and dignity would only come with economic independence: a landless ex-slave was easy prey to the powerful planter class. The right to vote was not enough, and even that right would be imperiled until the freedman was granted a piece of the land his slave ancestors had worked. In a few areas Negroes did acquire land and became efficient farmers, but these were exceptions. On the crucial question of land, Stevens unfortunately proved prophetic. The failure to provide an economic base for freedom left the ex-slave open to pressure and harassment and was a significant factor in his subsequent disfranchisement.

Reading Suggestions:

1. *Carol F. Drisko and Edgar A. Toppin, The Unfinished March: The Negro in the United States, Reconstruction to World War I (Garden City: Doubleday, 1967) is perhaps the best volume in the Zenith series for intermediate readers. It is highly recommended as supplemental reading for both this chapter and the next.

2. Lerone Bennett, Jr., Black Power, U.S.A.: The Human Side of Reconstruction, 1867-1877 (Chicago: Johnson, 1967) is well written and illustrated. It should prove interesting to the senior student as well as to the teacher.

3. *Kenneth M. Stampp, The Era of Reconstruction, 1865-1877 (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1965) is a fine example of the modern revisionist approach to reconstruction history.

4. A well known novel about the Reconstruction years is Howard Fast, Freedom Road (New York: Crown Publishers, 1964). It is recommended for both intermediate and high school students.

5. There are a number of important studies of Reconstruction in individual states. The best of these is *Vernon Lane Wharton, The Negro in Mississippi, 1865-1890 (New York: Harper & Row, 1965).

9. The Defeat of Reconstruction and Growth of Jim Crow

The era of Radical Reconstruction was not a peaceful time in the South. The freedman exercised rights of which his father had not even dreamed and which would be denied to his sons and grandsons. The accomplishments of the 1860's and 1870's would not be repeated for almost a century, and in some cases they have not yet been duplicated. The dramatic and fundamental changes wrought during Reconstruction generated desperate resistance.

Reconstruction had barely begun when Southerners formed an organization dedicated to restoring "law and order" through harassment, murder and ghostly night rides. The Ku Klux Klan instigated a campaign of terror to prevent black men from voting or exercising their other new rights. While the Klan and similar groups terrorized the freedmen, powerful white leaders maneuvered in less overt ways to deprive the Negro of his right to vote. By the mid-1870's, "home rule" had been restored to several southern states; federal troops were withdrawn and the black-and-tan governments forcibly desposed.

Soon the northern allies of the freedmen grew weary of continued chaos and upheaval in the South. They longed for tranquility and order in Dixie, even if its establishment meant a return to white supremacy. The fate of Radical Reconstruction was sealed by the compromise of 1876. The presidential election of that year was contested, and Rutherford B. Hayes only won the southern support necessary to break the stalemate by promising to pull out the federal troops and leave the problem of the freedmen to southern whites.

Without federal protection, without arms, and without land, the freedmen were almost defenseless. Many of them became sharecroppers on the plantations of their former owners, in a condition of perpetual debt which was very similar to the old state of slavery. Under the "convict lease system" prisoners were hired out as slaves in everything but name. The old Black Codes were resurrected to restrict the lives and activities of the ex-slaves and their descendants. Disfranchisement was effected in a variety of ways: outright terror was a popular method, but a more refined technique was the infamous "grandfather clause," which gave the right to vote to those whose fathers or grandfathers had voted before 1867.

One reaction to this repression was the growth of the Populist movement in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Early Populist leaders urged black and poor white farmers to work together to fight against their common enemies and to demand their common rights. The Populists ran black candidates and won massive black support in some areas. But as Afro-Americans suffered defeat after defeat at the hands of law-makers and judges, they became less attractive as allies for the Populists. In a striking about-face, Populist leaders such as Tom Watson became the most rabid segregationists and stirred up racial hatred among their followers.

The defeat of Reconstruction and triumph of reaction was a more gradual process than Radical Reconstruction itself had been. Disfranchisement could not be effected all at once, for the black freedman cherished his right to vote and fought for it. The first Jim Crow laws did not appear until five years after Hayes compromise of 1876. Some states did not institute segregationist laws until almost twenty years after Reconstruction.

Jim Crow legislation became the very cornerstone of segregation and debasement of the Negro. A rash of laws, covering a wide range of activities, were passed between 1885 and 1910. Some laws were oppressive, such as the residential restrictions which gave rise to ghettos, the discriminatory policies of the courts, and the legalized violation of the black man's economic freedom. Some Jim Crow laws were demeaning, such as those which designated special railway cars for "Negroes and Freight." Some were simply absurd: textbooks for Negro and white children had to be stored in separate warehouses; a Negro family's pet could not be buried in the same dog cemetery with a "white" animal.

As Jim Crow spread and the restrictive laws multiplied, "separate but equal" became part of American legal jargon. The Supreme Court gave its blessing to segregation in 1896, in the case of Plessy vs. Ferguson, when it ruled that a state could require Negroes to ride in separate railroad cars.

1895 was an important year in Afro-American history. The death of Frederick Douglass in that year marked the end of an era. The Supreme Court was deliberating the Plessy case and preparing to place the judicial seal of approval on Jim Crow. The year is best remembered for the "Atlanta Compromise" and the emergence of Booker T. Washington as the most prominent Negro spokesman and leader.

Born a slave in Virginia, Booker T. Washington struggled to improve himself through education. The hard-working and bright student won recognition at Hampton Institute, and at age 28 he was president of the new Tuskegee Institute in Alabama.

Washington was distressed by the swelling tide of anti-Negro sentiment and persecution, and he decided that it was time for his people to draw back and try to avoid further conflict. He was given the chance to proclaim this philosophy at the Atlanta Exposition of 1895. The organizers of the fair invited him, after considerable dispute, to address a group of northern businessmen and distinguished southern whites. In an eloquent speech, the young Negro teacher promised that his people would give up their demands for social equality at least temporarily, would postpone exercising their political rights in order to concentrate on economic opportunities, and would forsake higher education in "uppity" academic subjects if provided with industrial training.

The most famous sentence of Washington's address was the one in which he sanctioned social segregation: "In all things that are purely social, we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." He continued, "The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly."

Booker T. Washington rose rapidly to national prominence after his Atlanta speech; he became even more famous after the publication of his autobiography Up From Slavery in 1900. Some historians believe that this humble schoolteacher was the most powerful man in the South in his day: he was consulted about the appointment of any Negro or even white Southerner to a federal position; he was the dominant figure in the "Black Cabinets" of Presidents Roosevelt and Taft; he counted among his friends and allies such industrial giants as Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller; he exercised virtually complete control over the Negro press and the funding of Negro schools. His own fame and accomplishments must, however, be balanced against the sufferings of his people. While Washington was at the height of his power and regarded by all white America as the outstanding Negro leader, the condition of the Afro-American people reached an all-time low.

Reading Suggestions:

1. Two books by C. Vann Woodward are important contributions to the literature on this period. *Reunion and Reaction: The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction (Boston: Beacon, 1951) is an excellent piece of historical analysis. *The Strange Career of Jim Crow (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955) is recommended for high school students as well as for teachers; the first half of this book is particularly interesting.

2. A noted Negro historian has traced the story of the "Nadir" of the Afro-American past, from the time of Rutherford B. Hayes to that of Woodrow Wilson: *Rayford W. Logan, The Betrayal of the Negro (New York: Macmillan, 1954).

3. *Dorothy Sterling and Benjamin Quarles, Lift Every Voice (Garden City: Doubleday, 1965). One of four biographical sketches in this volume of the Zenith series is that of Booker T. Washington.

4. Booker T. Washington presents his interpretation of this crucial period in his famous autobiography: *Up From Slavery (New York, Bantam Books, 1959; and many other editions).

10. Afro-Americans in the West

The first mass migration of Negroes westward after the Civil War was the "Exodus of 1879." Led by Benjamin "Pap" Singleton, thousands of poor black farmers sought to escape from the repression which followed the defeat of Reconstruction in the South. One settler explained the reasons for the freedmen's flight to the western frontier: "The whole South -- every state in the South -- had got into the hands of the very men that held us as slaves... We said there was no hope for us and we had better go."

In Kansas the "Exodusters" were helped by the citizenry and by a newly-organized Freedman's Relief Association. In most other states they did not fare so well. Some towns, in fact, vigorously excluded the ragged settlers, and almost everywhere they met with hostility and harassment. Still the persecuted ex-slaves fled westward, some as part of the vast, more-or-less organized "Exodus," but many others as families or in small groups.

Not all Afro-Americans on the frontier were settler farmers. Five thousand black cowboys rode the Western plains. Negro hands traveled the Abilene Trail and were a common sight in Dodge City; it is only the movie and book versions of these places which are lily white. Some of these Afro-Americans were famous for their roping or riding skill; others were ordinary cowhands. The best known black cowboy was an ex-slave named Nat Love, who acquired the label "Deadwood Dick" for his wild activities on the frontier. There were black badmen in the West, too. A killer named Cherokee Bill was hanged for his crimes at the age of twenty; when the executioners asked whether he had any last words, Bill arrogantly reminded them that he had come to swing from a rope and not to make a speech.

Black soldiers helped to tame the West. Between 1866 and 1891, about 12,000 black men (or one fifth of all the army forces in the West) were enrolled in the frontier forces. Two Negro cavalry units and two Negro infantry units saw action against bandits and Indians in almost every western state and territory. Some Afro-American soldiers won the Congressional Medal of Honor for their bravery. The black army men were nicknamed "Buffalo Soldiers" by the Indians they fought.

Negroes settled in the Far West during the period after the Civil War. About fifty thousand crossed the Rocky Mountains between 1860 and 1910, almost half of them destined for California. During the second half of the nineteenth century, California was not kind to non-whites, whether immigrants or natives. The Indians were virtually eliminated in many areas; Chinese laborers were oppressed in the mining camps and on the railroads; and Mexicans were everywhere cheated of their land. It was not a healthy environment for black newcomers, although they were much smaller than other non-white groups and perhaps suffered less harsh treatment at the handsof white Californians. The Negro immigrant found his job opportunities restricted by Jim Crow, was forced to send his children to inferior segregated schools, and was harassed if he attempted to register to vote.

Black cowboys, black Indians, and black Cavalry -- all were part of frontier history but none have made it into the western movies. Many chapters in the Negro story have been left out of American history texts, but nowhere is the omission more glaring than in the case of Afro-American activity in the West. As explorers and soldiers, miners and farmers, cowboys and badmen, slaves and fugitives, and in a variety of other roles, black men have played their part in frontier history. Since the days of Estevanico and his fellow explorers, the activity of Afro-American individuals and groups has been a major theme of the Western past. History, in fact, contradicts our stereotyped view of the frontier as the exclusive domain of the white man and the dying red man. The West was "black man's country" too.

Reading Suggestions:

1. Jack D. Forbes, Afro-Americans in the Far West (Berkeley, Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, 1967) is an important source and an essential guide to further reading.

2. Philip Durham and Everett L. Jones, The Negro Cowboys (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1965) includes many exciting stories about Afro-Americans in the West; it is written for junior high school students.

3. The story of black soldiers on the frontier is told in William H. Leckie, The Buffalo Soldiers: A Narrative of the Negro Cavalry in the West (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967).

11. The Turn of the Century

The outcome of the Civil War broke the slaveholders' grip on national economic progress and freed northern finance and industry for a period of unprecedented expansion. Striking advances were made in science and technology, business and industry steadily grew stronger, and the stage was set for the emergence of the United States as the wealthiest and most powerful nation in the world.

Few people know that Negro inventors made noteworthy contributions to this era of American industrial development. In Massachusetts, young Jan Matzeliger invented a machine which enabled the United Shoe Company to mushroom into a multi-million dollar enterprise. (Like many other inventors, both black and white, Matzeliger benefited little from his important invention; he died in poverty at the age of 36.) Elijah McCoy, the son of fugitive slaves, patented more than seventy five inventions, including a lubricating device which was so superior to others on the market that buyers demanded "the real McCoy," and so coined a phrase which has passed into our everyday language. Lewis Latimer helped Alexander Graham Bell prepare his telephone design and later worked with Thomas Edison in various positions of responsibility. Granville T. Woods sold his patents to the Westinghouse, Bell and Edison companies, and discovered a number of ways to increase the safety of railroads. The most famous Negro inventor was Garnett A. Morgan; his contributions include the gas mask and the automatic traffic light. There were many other black inventors active during this important period of our nation's history; in 1913 one Henry Baker, a Patent Office researcher, published the official description of approximately a thousand inventions patented by Negroes.

The efforts of Negro scientists also added to the store of knowledge and aided human progress. A gentle ex-slave named George Washington Carver, in years of patient work in the laboratory of Tuskegee University, did more to advance southern agriculture than any other man and became one of the most famous and respected scientists of America. Dr. Daniel Hale Williams performed the world's first successful open-heart surgery in 1893; he went on to found an interracial hospital and a school for training Negro nurses and worked against segregation in the medical profession. An abolitionist who was known for his race pride, Martin Delaney, led a scientific exploration to the Niger River in West Africa. A more famous Negro explorer was Matthew Henson, who accompanied Admiral Peary and planted the American flag at the North Pole in 1908.

The accomplishments of these distinguished men could not break down the walls of segregation and hatred which were being erected in the post-Reconstruction period. Even as famous and respected individuals they did not escape discrimination, and they found that they could do little to improve the status of their fellow Negroes.

To tell the truth, these were difficult years for the masses of black men and women. Between 1885 and 1894, 1700 Afro-Americans were lynched, a frightening average of one every other day. Black workers had trouble getting jobs, even if they had somehow acquired marketable skills. White workers were beginning to organize themselves, but usually the new unions excluded Negroes or forced them into separate locals. (Temporary exceptions were the Knights of Labor and the Industrial Workers of the World.) Often black men could get work only if they were willing to become strikebreakers. This increased tensions between black and white workers and led to murderous race riots in some places. Sanctioned by the Supreme Court, Jim Crow legislation multiplied and reached into every facet of public and private life. Booker T. Washington, regarded as the undisputed leader of the Negro people during this period, refused to speak out against segregation.

During these decades, however, a growing body of black reformers raised their voices against discriminatory legislation and against racial oppression. Eventually some of these campaigners had to challenge the philosophy and authority of Booker T. Washington. Washington believed that Negroes would not collectively gain freedom and justice by asking for it, but that they had to patiently earn the right to equal opportunity. His black critics insisted that Afro-Americans would certainly never be granted equal justice unless they asked for it -- or even demanded it.

One representative of this school was a newspaper woman named Ida Wells, the leader of the anti-lynching crusade. She wrote articles exposing the crimes of lynching, carried her campaign of protest to Europe, and in 1909 became one of the founders of the N.A.A.C.P. Many attempts were made to silence this forceful black woman, so in self-defense she always carried two pistols. Her fellow reformers included: George White, a Negro Congressman who vainly introduced the first federal anti-lynching bill in 1900; Lewis Douglass, the son of the famous abolitionist; and Kelly Miller, a brilliant young Afro-American who spoke out in defense of dark-skinned peoples in the Philippines and Caribbean, as well as championing the rights of his own people.

Another militant newspaper editor was William Monroe Trotter, a Harvard gruaduate who founded the Boston Guardian in 1901. He demanded full equality for his race and condemned Booker T. Washington as a "Jim Crowist." The leading challenger to Washington's position as dean of the black community was Trotter's former roommate, the first Negro to earn a PhD. at Harvard, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois. In The Souls of Black Folk, published in 1903, DuBois tallied up the "accomplishments" of the Atlanta Compromise. Booker T. Washington, he said, had agreed to give up higher education for the Negro, the right to vote, and social equality, in return for industrial training and economic opportunity. America had proceeded to restrict Negro education, disfranchise the black man, and pass enough Jim Crow legislation so that in most states equality was impossible and probably illegal. Only archaic industrial training was given to black youth, and economic advancement often became more difficult rather than easier. DuBois concluded that the "Bargain of Atlanta" was a very bad bargain indeed for the Afro-American people.

A new social movement began to emerge from the desire for reform and racial equality. Aided by William Trotter, DuBois organized a meeting of Negro professionals and intellectuals in 1905. The group met at Niagara Falls -- on the Canadian side, because the black delegates could not get rooms in an American hotel. The following year the Niagara Movement held a national convention at Harpers Ferry; the choice of locale and the meeting's impassioned tribute to John Brown give some idea of the group's mood. The convention issued a demand for full manhood suffrage and the abolition of all legal distinctions based on race or color.

Out of the Niagara Movement grew a new organization, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. White liberals, shocked by a race riot in Abraham Lincoln's home town of Springfield, Illinois, joined in the 1909 call for the formation of the new national body. Both white and Negro delegates attended the N.A.A.C.P.'s founding convention, and most of the first officers of the association were white. DuBois remained, however, a leading figure and the group's major spokesman. He was chosen as Director of Publications and Research and edited the organization's magazine, The Crisis. Although at the time many people considered the N.A.A.C.P. terribly "radical," its leaders were careful to act in a strictly constitutional and legal manner. The Association's dedicated lawyers fought in the courts against discrimination and racial injustice. In 1915 they persuaded the Supreme Court to pronounce the "grandfather clauses" unconstitutional. The legal agitators carried out a protracted campaign for a federal anti-lynching law. The organization tried to publicize Negro accomplishments and expose the evils of segregation. The Crisis also provided a forum for black writers and artists.

A year after the founding of the N.A.A.C.P., the National Urban League was created. More a service organization than a political action group, the League was designed to help Negro immigrants to the cities meet the problems of urban life. It performed an important function by helping Negroes find homes and jobs in the northern centers.

With all this activity, the early years of the twentieth century brought some hope of progress to the Afro-American. There was, to be sure, still a long struggle ahead, and progress was destined to come by fits and starts. Inevitably, many setbacks were incurred in the drive for full equality and justice. But black people could at least feel that the "Terrible Nineties" were behind them and take comfort in the fact that the campaign against discrimination had been launched.

Reading Suggestions:

1. Several of the books suggested after Chapter 9 are useful for this period as well: *Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow; *Logan, The Betrayal of the Negro; *Sterling and Quarles, Lift Every Voice.

2. The record of Negro inventors can be found in Louis Haber, *The Role of the American Negro in the Fields of Science* (Washington, D.C., 1966). This booklet is available from the Division of Elementary and Secondary Education, Bureau of Research, Office of Education, Washington, D.C., 20202; refer to Project No. 6-8353 when ordering.

3. *W.E.B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York: Crest, 1964) /Also in: *John Hope Franklin (ed.), *Three Negro Classics* (New York: Avon, 1965)/ Chapter III in DuBois' 1903 challenge to Booker T. Washington; the rest of the book is also interesting.

4. The early history of the N.A.A.C.P. can be found in *Langston Hughes, *Fight for Freedom: The Story of the N.A.A.C.P.* (New York: Berkeley Publishers, 1962).

12. World War I and The 'Twenties

When the United States went to war in 1917, large numbers of black men enlisted in the nation's armed forces. About 200,000 Afro-Americans went into service overseas. Most of them were put to work as stevedores or other laborers, and those who did see combat duty were in segregated units under white officers. Their conduct under fire was hailed by the French with whom they fought: four entire black regiments were awarded the French Croix de Guerre for bravery; one of them spent more time on the front line than any other American regiment. Two young Afro-Americans, Henry Johnson and Needham Roberts, were the first Americans to be decorated with the Croix de Guerre.

While their sons and brothers responded to President Wilson's call to make the world safe for democracy, Afro-Americans at home continued to press for equality. They pointed out that the clearly illegal lynchings still went unpunished and that inter-racial tension was rife in the industrial cities. In 1917, fifteen thousand Negroes marched in a silent protest parade through New York City, bearing signs like, "Mr. President, Why Not Make America Safe for Democracy?"

A wave of intolerance and racial hatred swept across the United States in the years immediately after World War I. Black veterans met with particular scorn, and many were beaten and lynched while still in their uniforms. During the "Red Summer" of 1919, anti-Negro riots erupted in a score of cities. A virulently racist film called "Birth of a Nation" was popular entertainment. Membership in the Ku Klux Klan soared, and the Klan itself wielded considerable political power in some areas. Negro organizations like the N.A.A.C.P. were subjected to official attack, and the Attorney General of the United States issued an inflamatory report entitled, "Radicalism and Sedition Among the Negroes as Reflected in Their Publications."

The intensity of racial conflict during the post-war period can only be understood in the light of the enormous social and economic changes which were then under way throughout the nation. At the turn of the century Americans lived in small towns or on farms. By the end of the twenties, however, the United States had become much more extensively industrial and there had been a great movement of population from the countryside to the cities. A corollary of this was the changing place of the Afro-American in the nation. In 1900, ninety percent of American Negroes still lived in the South, the vast majority of them in rural areas. By the time of the Second World War, half of black Americans lived in the North, virtually all of them in major cities, and a relatively large percentage of southern Negroes lived in urban areas.

The great migration of black people to the northern cities began in 1915, when a pest destroyed crops in wide areas of the South just at the time when booming war industries were looking for labor to fill hundreds of thousands of new jobs. Negro newspapers like Chicago's Defender extolled the opportunities in the Promised Land of the North, and the migratory tide became a flood. In 1917 and 1918, a thousand Negroes a day arrived in Chicago. By 1920 a million southern Negroes had transferred to the North, with New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and Detroit receiving the largest number of newcomers. The young migrants represented a fifth of the total black population of the South.

In the cities, these southern migrants found themselves in sharp competition with white workers (often recent immigrants themselves) for jobs and housing. The latter responded by excluding black people from most middle class residential areas, and forcing them to congregate in certain districts. Some of these areas were already ethnic ghettos, but their Jewish, Irish or Italian residents were moving out as rapidly as possible because the districts were unpleasantly close to noisy and noxious industries and the housing was growing old and delapidated.

Most of the black newcomers had no industrial skills or factory experience, and even those with special training found most job opportunities closed to them. They had to accept menial jobs at low wages. Some got employment as strikebreakers, which cast black workers in the role of undermining the efforts of white labor to organize and improve working conditions. The resulting fear and tension contributed to the growth of racist movements such as the K.K.K. and flared up in anti-Negro violence.

One possible black response to life in an urban setting was suggested by a short dark Jamaican named Marcus Garvey. He urged the black masses of the ghettos to be proud of their color and of their African heritage, and to prepare themselves for an eventual pilgrimage back to their African homeland. As long as they remained in America, Garvey eloquently told his followers, they should organize their own economic and social institutions and avoid relying on the white man. More than a million people joined Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association and its affiliates during the early twenties. Ten of thousands of Garveyites marched in colorful New York parades, with contingents of the Universal Black Cross Nurses, Black Eagle Flying Corps, and Universal African Legion.

The movement died almost as abruptly as it had risen to prominence. Garvey was accused of fraudulent dealings concerning his Black Star Steamship Line, was brought to trial, imprisoned, and later deported. Deprived of its fiery leader, U.N.I.A. dwindled in membership and lost its influence. Garvey remains an important figure in Afro-American history, however. He organized the first mass movement of black people, and many of his teachings on race pride and independent black action foreshadowed future tendencies.

Ghetto conditions presented many obstacles to successful enterprise, but some residents of such areas were able to overcome them. Negroes started businesses to serve the growing black communities or acquired managerial positions in white firms. By the mid - twenties, urban Negroes were operating tens of thousands of businesses, although most of them were small retail stores or service enterprises such as beauticians and undertakers catering exclusively to a black clientele.

In economic terms, life was pretty dreary for the Afro-American migrant to the big city, even during the "prosperity decade." In the cultural sphere, however, the era was anything but dull. To a community of white and black artists and musician, Harlem became the cultural capital of the world. Writers like James W. Johnson, Claude McKay and Langston Hughes celebrated the "Harlem Renaissance" and hailed the emergence of a "New Negro." Black singers gave America a powerful music, the blues. An instrumental form of the blues developed into jazz and gave its name to the age. Famous Negro musicians entertained black and white (and sometimes all-white) audiences in Harlem's nightclubs and theaters. But the curtain fell on much of this activity in 1929. During the Depression neither white patrons nor black audiences had much extra money to spend on entertainment.

Reading Suggestions:

1. *Milton Meltzer and August Meier, Time of Trial, Time of Hope: The Negro in America, 1919 to 1941 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1966) covers for intermediate readers the tensions after World War I, the urban migrations, and the "Harlem Renaissance." It is also a good source on the Depression and "New Deal."

2. The story of Marcus Garvey is told in an exciting and well-documented biography which could be used with high school students: *Edmund D. Gronon, Black Moses (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966).

3. Two early works are basic sources on the "Harlem Renaissance": Alain Locke (ed.) The New Negro: An Interpretation (New York: Boni, 1925); and James Weldon Johnson, Black Manhattan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930). The history of black music is traced in *Leroi Jones, Blues People: Negro Music in White America (New York: Morrow, 1963).

13. The Depression and New Deal

On "Black Thursday," October 24, 1929, the prosperity decade came to a crashing halt. All of America suffered during the Depression which followed, but as a class black Americans were the hardest hit of all. In the massive lay-offs of those lean years, black workers were usually the first to be fired. At the peak of the Depression, in 1932, almost 40 percent of white workers were without jobs, while the Negro unemployment rate reached a staggering 56 percent. Economic disaster was especially painful for black newcomers to the northern cities, who lacked the stable social institutions and service organizations which would have made it slightly easier to cope with the hardship and chaos of the Depression. Nor were their relatives who had remained in the South spared dislocation and hunger. Tenant farmers and sharecroppers felt the full weight of the Depression's blow to the rural economy. In fact, for most of agricultural America the Depression began around 1926, and by 1930 any resources previously accumulated had been consumed or lost in bank failures.

President Roosevelt's "New Deal" sought to assuage the suffering and upheaval which followed the stock market crash. Some of the new federal programs brought considerable relief to Negro Americans. By 1939, almost a million Afro-Americans were receiving some kind of assistance from the Work Projects Administration, either as direct aid or as employment. About 200,000 black youth worked on the projects of the Civilian Conservation Corps, where they were housed in strictly segregated camps. Housing programs such as the Home Owners Loan Corporation and the Federal Public Housing Authority made it possible for some Negro families to buy their own homes or to occupy adequate living facilities for the first time. An Agricultural Adjustment Administration was created to provide cash relief to indigent tenants, although many landlords simply pocketed the federal checks. Perhaps the greatest benefit which the A.A.A. brought to the black poor was that its abuses prompted the formation of organizations like the Southern Tenant Farmers Union.

The programs of the New Deal brought desperately needed relief to many Negroes. They could do little, however, to combat segregation or racial inequality. Many of the new agencies were frankly discriminatory; Negroes on the federal rolls often found themselves paid lower wages than those paid to whites. The national administration sometimes closed its eyes to the fact that officials in certain localities refused to hire Negro laborers for Public Works construction and that state and county governments sometimes administered federal funds in a manner prejudicial to the rights of black people.

During the Thirties, Afro-Americans organized several self-help schemes designed to fight discrimination and at the same time to afford relief for the ravages of depression. A "Jobs-for-Negroes" movement was initiated in St. Louis and spread to other cities. The Urban League was active in many spheres of relief work. A Negro organization called the Citizens League for Fair Play led demonstrations and boycotts against stores or firms that did not hire black people. This group popularized the slogan "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work."

The Depression years and the New Deal brought about a significant change in the political orientation of Afro-Americans. Disillusionment with the Republican Party had been growing since the beginning of the century and became widespread when Herbert Hoover openly courted the support of the white South in 1928. But it was not easy for Negroes who had been loyal Republicans since the days of Reconstruction to break with the party of Lincoln and swing over to the Democrats. The Democratic Party was, after all, the traditional party of Southern racists. Only one black voter in four cast his ballot for Roosevelt in 1932. The severity of economic conditions and the failure of the Republican Party to offer an appealing program which seemed likely to deal effectively with the problems of the Depression, caused most black voters to switch to F.D.R. in 1936. By 1940, this support had begun to fall off a little because of discrimination in federal projects, and some Afro-Americans had turned to the Communist Party and other radical organizations. Nonetheless, the Democratic Party retained the affiliation of the great majority of Negro voters.

The great publicity given Roosevelt's "Black Cabinet" may have helped persuade some Negro voters to transfer their support to the Democrats. This informal body was made up of prominent Negro men and women chosen to advise the president in matters concerning race relations. They were specialists in various fields of federal activity, and some of them had such outstanding credentials for their positions that they were referred to as the "Black Brain Trust." Mary McLeod Bethune, the famous educator, directed the Negro division of the National Youth Administration. Two Negroes served as racial advisors in the Department of the Interior: Robert C. Weaver and William J. Trent. Other Negroes of national reputation were chosen by Roosevelt to fill responsible positions.

Afro-American history, like all human history, is more than just the record of the acts of prominent individuals. Great social changes took place during the Depression years, which directly affected the lives of millions of black Americans. One of the most significant of these developments was the activity of the American labor movement.

When the Depression began, the strongest workers' organizations in the United States were craft unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Almost without exception they were Jim Crow unions, relegating Negro members to separate locals if they were admitted at all. The exclusionary policies of the early unions had already done considerable damage to black-white relations and to the labor movement itself. The only important Negro union was A. Philip Randolph's Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Randolph became a member of the A.F. of L. executive committee and campaigned at that high level against segregation, but he was not able to change the Federation's policies.

In 1934, an industrial bloc within the A.F. of L. split off to form the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Jim Crow was not an issue in the split, but the conflict between craft unions and industrial unions turned out to be of crucial importance to black workers. An industry-wide union could not close its doors to Afro-Americans; obviously, an industrial union would be quite impotent if it organized a group of white workers and excluded the Negroes who worked in the same factory.

The C.I.O. unions soon began to bring in large numbers of black workers. John Lewis' United Mine Workers, and its offshoot the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee, campaigned actively to overcome the mistrust and hostility of Negroes who had for years been scorned by organized labor. Other unions with liberal racial policies were the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, and the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union on the West Coast. The C.I.O. conducted a southern organizing drive which had some success in the textile mills, although it capitulated to southern prejudice on the question of segregated locals. After 1940, the United Auto Workers recruited more black workers than any other union and became a powerful factor in the lives of many Afro-Americans.

Jim Crow unions have not disappeared from the American scene, and a relatively large percentage of the black working class still does not belong to any union. In spite of this, the labor movement has played a certain role in integrating black people into American society, as well as making living conditions more tolerable for many. In the years since the Depression, labor unions have continued to exert a strong impact on the Afro-American community.

Reading Suggestions:

1. This important period has not received the attention it merits, and there are almost no specialized studies which are suitable for school use. For the historical material, the teacher is therefore referred to the general works and texts, such as *Arna Bontemps and Jack Conroy, Anyplace But Here (New York: Hill and Wang, 1966) and William Loren Katz, Eyewitness: The Negro in American History (New York: Pitman, 1967), and to documentary collections such as Francis L. Broderick and August Meier, Negro Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965).

2. Two major works of fiction by Richard Wright give a vivid picture of Afro-American life and society during the Depression years: *Uncle Tom's Children (New York, New American Library, 1942) and *Native Son (New York: Harper and Row, 1940).

3. *Daniel Guerin, Negroes on the March (London: New Park Publishers, 1956) is a good study of black participation in the labor movement and in radical and liberal political organizations during the 1930's and 1940's.

14. World War II

In 1940 the United States was preparing to fight a "War Against Racism and for Democracy" in Europe. First a small skirmish took place at home. For some time, tension had been building up in the Afro-American community. Although war industries were booming, black workers had difficulty getting jobs. Moreover, Congress had just rejected the latest effort in a 40-year campaign for a federal anti-lynching law. Tensions were further inflamed by a policy statement announcing that Negroes taken into armed forces would be placed in segregated units under white officers.

Moved by these conditions, A. Philip Randolph started organizing a protest March on Washington. He called for a hundred thousand Negroes to march on the Capitol on July 1, 1941, to call attention to widespread discrimination against Negroes in defense industries. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt personally pleaded with Randolph, and the President promised to do something about discrimination. Randolph refused to abandon his plans, however, and thousands of chartered buses and trains prepared to take the demonstrators to Washington. Less than one week before the March, Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802, which proclaimed: "there shall be no discrimination in employment of workers in defense industries or Government because of race, creed, color, or national origin." The March on Washington was called off and a victory celebration held instead. And a victory could well be claimed, despite the fact that many industries flouted the order and continued to practice discrimination.

Black soldiers formed an important part of America's fighting force during World War II, as they had in all previous wars. There were over 700,000 Afro-Americans in the Army, and about a million in all branches of the service together. Approximately half a million saw service overseas. Negroes were always organized into separate units, except on one occasion of military emergency when black and white units were sent to fight together on German soil. Concerning that episode, the War Department stated that black soldiers had "established themselves as fighting men no less courageous or aggressive than their white comrades." The segregated units were not wanting in bravery, either. The all-Negro 92nd Division received more than 12,000 decorations and citations.

The war years saw a repetition of the urban migrations of black people during the post-World War I period. People from the towns and farms of rural America were attracted to the large cities as thousands of new jobs opened up in defense industries. The nation's labor shortage became increasingly acute as more and more young men went into the armed services. For the first time, the aircraft-producing cities of the West began to receive a substantial number of Negro immigrants. The black population of Los Angeles doubled between 1940 and 1945 and continued to soar after the war. Fifty thousand Afro-Americans migrated to Detroit between 1940 and 1943; tensions in that city exploded in 1943 in the worst race riot of American history.

The war-caused shortage of manpower also led to a much more extensive employment of Negroes in governmental offices. A small number of them began to be accepted in supervisory and technical positions even in so southern a city as Washington D.C. In cities all across the nation, a certain segment of the Negro community made conspicuous economic progress. For the first time, an identifiable Negro middle class began to take on substance.

The fight for Four Freedoms could not be waged abroad without disturbing the traditional pattern of race relations at home. Black servicemen met relatively little social discrimination in European cities, and inevitably they compared the way European men and women treated them with the attitudes of their own white countrymen. Black fighting men were little inclined to accept exclusion from U.S.O. centers or base theaters and canteens. They objected strenuously to segregation in many camps and military bases. At home, their families and communities supported the demands of the black soldiers.

Afro-Americans had taken an active interest in foreign events, at least since the wide publicity given to the 1935 invasion of Ethiopia. Several Negro delegates attended the 1945 founding convention of the United Nations. Among them were Mary McLeod Bethune, Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois and Dr. Ralph J. Bunche.The human rights declarations of the United Nations Charter were widely reproduced in the Negro press and generated much hope and enthusiasm. The ideals expressed there seemed as applicable to minority groups as to small nations and colonial peoples. Hence, in 1946, the National Negro Congress tried to place before the United Nations the question of discrimination against black Americans. This effort failed, as have all subsequent repetitions, because the United States insisted that its treatment of Afro-Americans was a purely domestic affair. But the attempt does illustrate the appeal of the United Nations and points to an increasing involvement of Afro-Americans in international affairs.

Reading Suggestions:

1. Walter White, A Rising Wind (New York, 1945) tells the story of black fighting men during World War II. The author was a renowned N.A.A.C.P. reporter and crusader for civil rights who later became its Executive Secretary.

2. *Harold R. Isaacs, The New World of Negro Americans (New York Viking, 1963) is particularly interesting for its treatment of the impact of modern African developments and world affairs on black Americans.

15. The Civil Rights Movement

The effort to win full and equal citizenship for Negroes obviously began long before four young Afro-Americans sat down at a "For Whites Only" lunch counter in Greensborough, North Carolina in February, 1960, and refused to leave until they were served. The roots of the civil rights drive which erupted during the 1960's lie in the campaigns of abolitionists and in the pleas for reform by black congressmen during the Reconstruction era. "Civil rights" had already become a rallying cry when the NAACP and the Urban League were founded in the first decade of this century. In its long and stormy career, the movement has been supported by both white and Negro reformers and has achieved substantial gains, despite persistent and often violent opposition.

Two institutions, the Negro press and the Negro church, have been of especial importance in the black community and have often been in the forefront in the struggles for equality. Since *Freedom's Journal* appeared as the first abolitionist paper in 1827, there have been literally hundreds of newspapers owned or edited by Negroes and directed specifically toward a black readership. Many were short-lived and small in circulation, but others, such as the *Chicago Defender*, the *Amsterdam News*, the *Baltimore Afro-American* and the *Pittsburgh Courier*, have been extremely influential on a national scale. Through the years, Negro newspapers have often taken the lead in exposing discrimination and persecution and in publicizing the efforts of civil rights reformers.

The church has played a central role in Negro life and society since the days of slavery. Negro ministers, especially those of the Baptist and Methodist faiths, have long been active in the crusade against slavery and discrimination. Reverend Richard Allen, the founder of the independent African Methodist Episcopal Church, was a leading abolitionist figure of the early nineteenth century. During some periods the Negro churches' role in the freedom struggle was cautious and minimal, perhaps due to fear of inciting repressive action. Their active role has been revived in recent years, however, as is exemplified by the civil rights activists of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The campaign against segregation, never dormant but enjoying little success during the period between the wars, began to gather strength after World War II. President Truman appointed an interracial Civil Rights Commission which presented a report indicting discrimination and injustice toward Afro-Americans, whether practiced by individuals or maintained by state and local officials and legislation. During his presidency, Truman also took the first steps toward full racial integration in the armed services, an action which was destined to have far-reaching repercussions in society at large.

A milestone which is sometimes regarded as the beginning of the modern civil rights movement was the Supreme Court decision of 1954, outlawing segregation in public schools. At that time the federal government had little power (or, perhaps, inclination) to enforce this ruling against the determined opposition of southern school systems. But the decision itself had the important effect of putting consitutional principle squarely on the side of the integrationists and of exposing the gross inequalities of segregated schools. It further established the precedent for a series of decisions which gradually eroded any pretense of legality for the various mechanisms which had been created to support and enforce segregation.

Another milestone was the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott of 1956, which initiated the direct-action phase of the civil rights movement and brought to prominence the movement's most outstanding leader and spokesman, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. In a year-long protest against inequality of service, the black people of Montgomery walked rather than ride the buses. Finally the company, deprived of three-quarters of its passengers, yielded to the demands of the movement's leaders.

In the course of the Montgomery boycott, Dr. King articulated the strategy and goals of the civil rights drive, and established its primary tactic as one of conspicuous but nonviolent protest against injustice. At one organizational meeting, King described his philosophy of passive resistance rooted in Christian love. "Our method will be that of persuasion, not coercion. We will only say to the people, 'Let your conscience be your guide.'... Once again we must hear the words of Jesus echoing across the centuries: 'Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, and pray for them that despitefully use you.'... In spite of the mistreatment that we have confronted we must not become bitter, and end up by hating our white brothers."

Another crisis was provoked in 1957, when Governor Faubus of Arkansas refused to allow schools desegregation to take place, despite a federal court order; ultimately President Eisenhower had to send federal troops to enforce the law of the land. This famous episode dramatically illustrated the impact of a dynamic force in the civil rights struggle. Television enabled millions of Americans far from the scene of confrontation to see armed federal marshalls escort black children into Little Rock's Central High School through mobs of screaming and threatening whites. They were not the only witnesses. Newsreels and televisions displayed the ugly scene in European and Soviet cities; newspapers and radios carried the story to every country of Africa and Asia. The whole world viewed the events of Little Rock, as it was later to see Birmingham police turn fire hoses and unleash dogs on nonviolent demonstrators. By 1960 the "domestic affairs" of the United States could not be dissociated from its international posture. Just as the anti-slavery sentiments of the French and English people were a significant factor during the Civil War, so in recent years the force of world opinion has been part of the pressure on the United States to take more vigorous and speedy steps to correct injustice.

Embarrassed by the displays of white racial violence, Congress in 1957 overrode the protests of Southern politicians and passed the first piece of federal civil rights legislation since 1875. The bill was very limited in scope, but at least it publicly affirmed federal responsibility for assuring the constitutional rights of all citizens. A second Civil Rights Bill in 1960 outlawed some local measures which had been employed to prevent Negroes from voting. In 1964 a much more comprehensive bill authorized the Attorney General to use federal power to protect Americans against violation of their rights and forbade discrimination in federally-aided programs. In 1965 a law "with teeth in it" gave the federal government the responsibility of insuring that Afro-American citizens were allowed to vote.

During the early 1960's, the civil rights movement concentrated its activities in the southern bastion of segregation and racial prejudice, where it could expect intemperate and volatile local officials to attack nonviolent demonstrators with ugly force. The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) began in the spring of 1961 to send "Freedom Riders" south to protest deiscrimination in transport. Joined by volunteers mobilized by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Freedom Riders succeeded in integrating interstate travel.

There were no easy victories, however, for the liberal white college students and the black demonstrators of the South. One hundred years after the Emancipation, Martin Luther King, Jr. led a peaceful demonstration for the desegregation of public facilities and was viciously attacked by the police of Birmingham, Alabama. In the same spring of 1963, the Mississippi leader of the NAACP, Medger Evars, was murdered on his front lawn. Other civil rights activists were beaten and murdered, and hundreds of offices, homes, and churches were bombed.

Undaunted by this opposition, the civil rights movement grew. Over 200,000 people joined in an impressive "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom," on August 28, 1964. Voter registration drives were conducted during the summer of 1964 under the auspices of the Council of Federated Organizations (an umbrella group which brought in SNCC, CORE, SCLC and many smaller civil rights organizations). Dr. King's march from Selma to Montgomery in March, 1965, brought reformers from all over the country and inspired supporting demonstrations in a score of cities.

Campaigns to desegregate public facilities such as lunch counters and swimming pools have occured across the country and received much publicity. There are other spheres in which discrimination has been widespread and where it has had more pernicious effects than the humiliating segregation of public facilities. The civil rights movement has attacked three major types of discrimination which have had particularly serious repercussions: inequality and segregation in the fields of education, housing and employment.

Integration of educational facilities has been painfully slow. In 1964, ten years after the historic Supreme Court decision, 98 percent of black children in the South and border states still attended segregated schools.

1964 was also the year in which Prince Edward County in Virginia was finally forced to reopen its public schools, after a six-year protest against integration. Most Negro schools were still patently inferior to white schools in the same community. The educational campaign opened up new fronts in the North, where the struggle was against _de facto_ segregation rather than legal segregation. The black communities of Boston and Chicago led in this effort and exerted sustained pressure against the inferior, segregated schooling of their children.

In the area of equal employment opportunities, considerable progress was made at the highest levels. The federal government began to appoint Negroes to prestigious and responsible positions, and many state and local governments followed suit. The ordinary black worker still had difficulty getting anything but a menial job, however. Despite legal pressures and some union efforts to combat discrimination, the difference between the average wage of white and of black workers has increased every year. In most American cities, the unemployment rate is about twice as high among Negroes as among whites. Almost a third of all black males were unemployed in the Watts section of Los Angeles at the time of the 1965 rebellion. It is not difficult to understand why the demand for jobs was one of the main themes of the Poor People's Campaign of 1968.

Discrimination in housing has been one of the factors keeping the vast majority of northern Negroes in inner-city ghettos, and the civil rights movement has initiated many campaigns against residential segregation. Scores of American towns and cities have witnessed demonstrations which demanded open-housing laws or urged enforcement of existing codes. The Chicago area alone has been the scene of dozens of such demonstrations. In Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Father Groppi's NAACP "Commandos" marched for open housing every single day for over eight months. Legal cases against discrimination in housing have filled the courts and many Negro families have braved the hostility of neighbors in order to desegregate certain areas.

The civil rights movement suffered a grievous loss when Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated in the spring of 1968. His leadership position has been assumed by his friend, Rev. Ralph Abernathy and his widow, Mrs. Coretta King.

Rev. Abernathy led the most recent national manifestation of the civil rights movement, the Poor People's Campaign of 1968. The shanties and muddy streets of "Resurrection City, U.S.A." placed before the eyes of Washington and the world the unpleasant facts of poverty and hunger in the United States. One of the most interesting things about the Poor People's Campaign was that it seemed to revive the cooperation between American Indians and Negroes which was historically so important during the colonial period and frontier years. It is difficult, however, to evaluate the concrete accomplishments of the Poor People's Campaign.

The civil rights movement is not dead. Nor can it be expected to die until all Americans enjoy equal rights and equal opportunities. Today, however, it shares public attention with another tendency, its sometime-rival and sometime-partner, the black nationalist movement.

Reading Suggestions:

There is already a large body of literature on the civil rights revolution, and the collection grows almost daily. The teacher should refer to the section "Contemporary Issues" in Part II of this guide; even that bibliography, however, is highly selected and very incomplete. Most teachers will, in the course of their reading, discover their own supplements to this partial list.

1. *Langston Hughes, Fight For Freedom: The Story of the NAACP (New York: Berkeley Publ., 1962), is a popular history of the main civil rights organization, suitable for use by secondary school students.

2. The writings of Martin Luther King, Jr. are essential for an understanding of the civil rights movement. Particularly important are: *Strides Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story (New York: Harper & Row, 1958), and *Why We Cant't Wait (New York: Signet, 1964).

3. Alain West (ed.), Freedom NOW! (New York: Basic Books, 1964), is a collection of important writings by civil rights activists and observors of the movement.

4. *Lerone Bennett, Jr., Confrontation: Black and White (Chicago Johnson, 1965), is an excellent historical analysis of the civil rights movement. The New York Times has recommended it as a "provacative primer" for high school students.

16. Black Nationalism

Black Nationalism is many things to many people. When a sixth grade black girl defies her parents and teachers to wear a natural hair style, that is called "black nationalism." When Stokely Carmichael expounds Black Power to a crowd of cheering Cubans, that also is "black nationalism." A black nationalist can apparently be anyone from a Negro businessman who wants a chance to open a ghetto store to a revolutionary socialist. To much of white America all black nationalists seem to be mad separatists and virulent white-haters, but so monolithic a view hardly covers the complexities of the nationalist movement as it exists today. White liberals often assume that the black nationalist movement is in flat opposition to the traditional civil rights movement, but again this is an oversimplification. Nationalists do not generally give up the demand for equal rights, and in fact they often participate in civil rights demonstrations.

Perhaps their contrasting views on desired changes in the educational system provide the simplest example of the differences between the adherents to the civil rights movement and those adopting a nationalist approach. Recognizing that segregated Negro schools are inferior, civil rights advocates have traditionally asked that black children be admitted to white schools. Nationalists point out that the great majority of black children are not going to be affected by "bussing" schemes or by any increase in residential and social mobility. They demand that existing all-black schools be improved and made more relevant for the young Afro-Americans who attend them.

It may be useful to distinguish three species of black nationalism, which seem to exist separately as well as in combination. Cultural nationalism is the most widespread; it asserts racial pride ("black is beautiful") and expresses an interest in African and Afro-American history. This form of nationalism insists that there is a distinctive and valuable black culture with its own style of dress, language, food, music and way of life. Economic nationalism has reached its most highly organized form in the Nation of Islam, and it finds expression in a campaign encouraging black people to form their own economic enterprises and to "Buy Black." Political nationalism condemns the present relationship between Afro-Americans as a whole and the white society in which they live; in itsmost fully developed form it calls for independent black political action and sometimes for the formation of a separate black state.

Black Nationalism, like the civil rights movement, has a long history in the United States. Its precepts are certainly discernable in the Garvey movement, and also in Noble Drew Ali's "Moorish-American Science Temple" of roughly the same period. In less obvious ways, black nationalism has precedents in the separatist churches and Messianic movements, such as Father Divine's Peace Movement of the 1920's and 1930's.

The most important organized stimulus to the crystallization and spread of black nationalism has been the Nation of Islam. This is basically a religious sect and not a political movement; it looks to the sacred writings and traditions of the Near East and modifies and applies them to the peculiar social situation of black Americans. In the early 1930's, leadership of the black Muslim organization passed from its founder W.D. Fard to his disciple Elijah Muhammad. Under "The Messenger's" leadership, the Nation of Islam grew very slowly until about 1950 and then underwent spectacular expansion, for reasons which are not fully understood. By 1960 the Nation had fifty Temples, located in every American city with a significant black population; the best estimate of its membership at that time was 50,000 believers and a much larger number of sympathizers.

The Nation's most powerful spokesman was the "Minister" of its Harlem Temple, an ex-convict who had taken the name of Malcolm X upon his conversion. This extraordinary leader broke with Elijah's organization in 1963, in an effort to move the black nationalist movement in a more political direction. He saw the Afro-American situation as part of the struggle of dark-skinned people everywhere for their "human rights;" he was extremely interested in developments in Africa, strove for the support of the Organization of African Unity, and actively worked to bring the case of black America before the United Nations. Although Malcolm X was assassinated after less than a year of independent activity, his speeches and actions have exerted a strong influence on the development of black nationalism since his death.

A variety of nationalist organizations have developed in the black community in recent years. Many are purely cultural, like the Yoruba Temple, or almost purely religious, like the Nation of Islam and smaller Muslim groups. S.N.C.C. and C.O.R.E. have both been transformed from liberal civil rights organizations into black nationalist movements. S.N.C.C. militants such as Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown have popularized the demand for "Black Power." Black student unions, usually involving some measure of both cultural and political nationalism, have sprung up on hundreds of campuses. An overtly political organization is the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, whose best-known spokesmen are Eldridge Cleaver and Huey Newton.

The overall influence of black nationalism on the Afro-American community cannot easily be measured. If we consider as black nationalists only the separatists and the militant Black Panthers, then obviously the direct following they command is very small indeed. If, on the other hand, we consider the widest cultural and social implications of the black nationalist philosophy, then it seems to reach into virtually every section of the black community. Even the most moderate Negro leaders have made some concessions to the rhetoric of black nationalism: Roy Wilkins of the N.A.A.C.P. stated recently that he was an advocate of "the good kind of Black Power." At least in the widest sense, it seems clear the nationalist sentiments are here to stay. If this is true, it hardly seems useful to continue to regard black nationalism as the lunatic fringe of the civil rights movement.

Reading Suggestions:

1. The speeches and writings of Malcolm X are essential reading for anyone interested in the black nationalist movement. They are vital sources in themselves and are also important because of the enormous influence which they have exerted. *The Autobiography of Malcolm X (New York: Grove Press, 1965); and *Malcolm X Speaks (New York: Grove Press, 1966).

2. Two other "classics" of black nationalism could be used by an experienced teacher with mature students. *Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth (New York: Grove Press, 1966) has had a strong impact on black radical thinking. An important recent book is Eldridge Cleaver's Soul on Ice (New York: McGraw Hill, 1968).

3. *E.U. Essien-Udom, Black Nationalism (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962) is an excellent historical and sociological study of the Nation of Islam.

PART II: BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND TEACHING AIDS

PART II: BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND TEACHING AIDS

The bibliographical half of this manual is designed to assist teachers and librarians in enriching their collections of reading material on Afro-American studies. It is certainly not exhaustive: an effort has been made to include the best and most thorough studies in each particular field and also to select those books which will be especially interesting to the teacher and those which seem suitable for classroom use.

This guide can be supplemented with other published bibliographies, some of which are listed below. In addition, many general works on Afro-American history include extensive book lists which should be consulted. John Hope Franklin's *From Slavery to Freedom* has a nearly complete list of works published before the late 1940's and includes major works which have appeared since that time. It lists articles as well as books and thus is a vital supplement to this guide. Some journal articles are major contributions to black history, but they have been excluded from this manual in the interest of space and manageability. Melville Herskovits' *The Myth of the Negro Past* has a long source list which is particularly useful for areas outside the United States. Sometimes major bibliographical contributions are found in unanticipated places. Jack D. Forbes, *Afro-Americans in the Far West* has the most complete and valuable guide to resources yet seen. In the citations which follow, an attempt will be made to indicate those books which have unusually extensive or useful bibliographies.

The literature on black history and culture increases almost daily. Any bibliography, whether published separately or as the source list of a book, is out of date by the time it is printed and available. This manual is, of course, no exception. It will be necessary for school personnel to keep abreast of new material as it comes out, and the only real way to do this is to follow Negro periodicals with some care. *The Crisis* and the *Journal of Negro History* have excellent book reviews and publish annual lists of books by and about Afro-Americans. Also useful for their book reviews are *Freedomways*, *Phylon*, the *Journal of Negro Education*, and the *Journal of Human Relations*. New developments in black art, films and literature are frequently reviewed in *Liberator*. *Africa* and the *Journal of African History* have the most extensive collections of reviews of new books on African subjects.

A few teachers' guides and bibliographies designed specifically for school use are listed in this section. In addition, some school districts have compiled reading lists or published curriculums concerning the American Negro. No attempt is made to list these official guides here, since virtually every major school district seems to have a project under way on some aspect of Negro studies, and they vary considerably in their degree of professionalism. Teachers are advised to contact their Boards of Education for information on curricular materials available in their areas.

The most useful published bibliographies and teachers' guides are the following:

Harlan, Lewis R., The Negro in American History. (Washington, D.C.: A.H.A., 1966).
Available from the Service Center for Teachers of History; American Historical Association, 400 A Street S.W., Washington, D.C., 20003, for 50¢; refer to Publication Number 61.

* Homer, Dorothy and Ann Swartout(eds.), Books on the Negro (New York: Praeger, 1966).
An annotated bibliography.

* Katz, William Loren, Teachers' Guide to American Negro History (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1968).
An essential handbook, with a short summary of Afro-American history and suggestions for teachers on the use of texts and visual aids.

*Koblitz, Minnie W., The Negro in Schoolroom Literature (New York: Center for Urban Education, 1967)
A list of books for school children from Kindergarten through Grade Six. Available from the Center for Urban Education, 33 West 42nd Street, New York, New York, 10036; for 25¢.

* Millender, Dharathula H., Real Negroes, Honest Settings. Children's and Young People's Books About Negro Life and History (Washington, D.C., American Federation of Teachers, 1967).
Available from the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, 1012 14th Street N.W., Washington D.C., 10005; for $1.00; refer to Hem V-3.

* Miller, Elizabeth, The Negro in America: A Bibliography (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966)
A bibliography which concentrates on works published since 1954.

* N.A.A.C.P., Integrated School Books (New York, N.A.A.C.P., 1968).
Available from the N.A.A.C.P., 1790 Broadway, New York, New York 10019.

* Negro Bibliographic and Research Center, Bibliographic Survey: The Negro in Print.
An annotated bibliography, published six times a year; available from the Negro Bibliographic and Research Center, Inc., 117 R Street, NE, Washington, D.C. 20002

* Penn, Joseph E., Elaine C. Brooks, and Mollie L. Berch (eds.), The Negro American in Paperback (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1967).
A selected list of paperbound books compiled and annotated for secondary school students. Available from the Publication-Sales Section, National Education Association, 1201 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20036; for 35¢.

* Salk, Erwin A., A Layman's Guide to Negro History (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1966).

* Welsch, Erwin K., The Negro in the United States: A Research Guide (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1964).
Now somewhat dated, but still useful.

Work, Monroe D., A Bibliography of the Negro in Africa and America (New York: Octagon Books, 1965).

A. General Histories and Documentary Collections

Adams, Russell L., Great Negroes Past and Present (Chicago: Afro- Am Publishers, 1964).
A collection of biographical sketches, illustrated and suitable for school use. Note that Afro-Am also publishes portrait-posters of individual Negro leaders, which would be good for display purposes.

* Aptheker, Herbert (ed.), A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States (New York: Citadel, 1951), 2 vols.
The most complete collection of documents; an invaluable reference tool.

*Bennett, Lerone Jr., Before the Mayflower: A History of the Negro in America, 1619-1964 (Chicago, Johnson Publishing Co., 1964 rev. ed.),
A lively and thorough history, recommended for high school use.

* Bontemps, Arna and Jack Conroy, Anyplace But Here (New York: Hill and Wang, 1966).
An expanded version of Bontemps & Conroy, They Seek a City. Covers the whole range of Afro-American history and is excellent on some topics; but it is organized in such a way as to be quite difficult to use as a text or reference work.

* Bontempts, Arna, One Hundred Years of Negro Freedom (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1967).
A general history for secondary school students, employing the biographical approach.

Broderick, Francis L. and August Meier (ed.), Negro Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966).
A very useful collection of documents.

* Cohen, Irving, The Negro in American History (New York: N.Y.C. Board of Education, 1964).
A survey of materials: now somewhat dated.

* Fishel, Leslie H. Jr., and Benjamin Quarles, The Negro American: A Documentary History (Glenview, Ill., Scott, Foresman, 1967).
An extensive collection of readings, suitable for advanced high school students.

Franklin, John Hope, From Slavery to Freedom (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1956).
The standard scholarly text on the subject of Negro history: it is well-documented, has an extensive bibliography, and is a necessary reference work for the teacher.

* Franklin, John Hope and Isidore Starr (eds.), The Negro in Twentieth Century America (New York: Vintage, 1967).
  A documentary history.

* Ginzberg, Eli and Alfred S. Eichner, The Troublesome Presence (New York, Mentor, 1966).
  A history which emphasized the period up to Reconstruction.

* Grant, Joanne, (ed.), Black Protest: History, Documents and Analysis, 1619 to the Present (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett, 1968)
  Three-fourths of this documentary collection is from the modern period. The selection is wide and includes the most important speeches and writings, but the exerpts are very brief.

Hughes, Langston and Milton Meltzer, A Pictorial History of the Negro in America (New York: Crown, 1963, rev. ed.).
Somewhat uneven, but nonetheless recommended for school use; an essential addition to all school libraries.

* Katz, William Loren, Eyewitness: The Negro in American History (New York: Pitman, 1967).
  A high school text which includes first-hand accounts from each historic period. The introductions to the readings are excellent, and the volume is well illustrated. Highly recommended.

* Logan, Rayford W., The Negro in the United States: A Brief History (Princeton: Anvil, 1957).
  A brief history, with appendices of the main legal documents of the post-Civil War period.

Meier, August and Elliott M. Rudwick, From Plantation to Ghetto (New York: Hill and Wang, 1966).
A general history with an annotated bibliography.

* Miers, Earl Schenck, The Story of the American Negro (New York: Grosset, 1965).
  A popular history for young people.

* Meltzer, Milton (ed.), In Their Own Words: A History of the American Negro (New York: Crowell, 1964 - 1965 & 1967) 3 vols.
  Three small volumes of documents (Vol. I: 1619-1865; Vol. II: 1866-1916; Vol. III: 1916-1966). The readings are illustrated and are printed so as to be suitable for intermediate or high school use. An important collection for schools.

* Quarles, Benjamin, The Negro in the Making of America (New York: Collier, 1964).
  A popular history.

Woodson, Carter G. and Charles H. Wesley, Negro Makers of History
(Washington D.C.: Associated, 1958).
A textbook history for junior high school students.

Woodson, Carter G. and Charles H. Wesley, The Story of the Negro Retold
(Washington D.C.: Associated, 1959).
A textbook for high school and college use.

B. African History and Culture

The volume of literature on Africa is increasing even more rapidly than that on Afro-American history and culture. The brief bibliography which follows lists only a few books which are readily available and are suitable for use with secondary school students. For more extensive or specific references, the teacher should consult the bibliography of Robert Rotberg's Political History of Tropical Africa, or of the works listed below.

Bovill, E.W., Golden Trade of the Moors (New York, 1958).
A good history of the medieval trans-Saharan trade.

* Chu, Daniel and Elliott Skinner, A Glorious Age in Africa (Garden City: Doubleday, 1965).
An introduction to the ancient states of Ghana, Mali and Songhay; a volume in the Zenith series for secondary school students.

Curtin, Philip, Africa Remembered, Narratives by West Africans from the Era of the Slave Trade (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967).
Personal accounts by slaves and African travelers.

* Davidson, Basil, A Guide to African History: A General Survey of the African Past from Earliest Times to the Present; ed. by Haskel Frankel (Garden City; Doubleday, 1965).
A fine introduction at the secondary level.

* Davidson, Basil, A History of West Africa to the Nineteenth Century (Garden City: Doubleday, 1966).

Delafosse, Maurice, The Negroes of Africa: History and Culture (Washington, 1931)
Contains a considerable amount of information on the medieval black states.

* Dobler, Lavinia and William A. Brown, Great Rulers of the African Past (Garden City: Doubleday, 1965).
A volume in the Zenith series for intermediate readers.

Fage, J.D., Atlas of African History (London: Arnold, 1958).
A useful reference tool, although now quite dated.

* Hodgkin, Thomas, Nationalism in Colonial Africa (London, 1956).
A valuable survey.

* Hughes, Langston, An African Treasury (New York: Pyramid, 1961).
Stories, poems and essays by African writers.

* Oliver, Roland and Caroline, (eds.), Africa in the Days of Exploration (Englewood Cliffs,N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965).
Eyewitness accounts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

* Oliver, Roland and John Fage, A Short History of Africa (Middlesex: Penguin, 1962).

* Turnbull, Colin M., The Lonely African (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1962).
An excellent portrayal of the dilemmas of modern Africa.

C. Sources on the Afro-American Past

*Baker, Ray Stannard, Following the Color Line (New York: Harper & Row, 1964).
Eyewitness reporting by a northerner who traveled through the South during 1906 and 1907.

Bennett, Lerone Jr., Black Power, U.S.A.: The Human Side of Reconstruction, 1867-1877 (Chicago: Johnson, 1967).
A well written illustrated history, good for secondary school use as well as for college students.

Berry, Brewton, Almost White (New York: Macmillan, 1963).
An interesting study of Indian-white-black hybrids in the eastern United States.

* Botkin, Benjamin (ed), Lay My Burden Down: A Folk History of Slavery (Chicago: Phoenix Books, 1945).
The reminiscences of ex-slaves about the days of slavery; collected under the Writers' Project of the "New Deal." Recommended for secondary school students.

Brotz, Howard (ed.), Negro Social and Political Thought, 1850-1920. Representative Texts (New York: Basic Books, 1966).
An important reference work for the specialist: includes a major selection of writings by Douglass, Washington, DuBois and Garvey, and a few significant documents by minor figures.

Broderick, Francis L., and August Meier (eds.), Negro Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965).
A useful documentary history, with long exerpts from major writings.

Buckmaster, Henrietta, Flight to Freedom (New York: Crowell, 1958).
The story of the Underground Railroad for junior high school readers.

*__________________, Let My People Go (New York: Harper & Row, 1940).
A long but exciting history of the Underground Railroad and its work.

__________________, The Seminole Wars (New York: Collier, 1966).
The most thorough treatment of the subject, for secondary school students.

* Cash, Wilbur J., The Mind of the South (New York: Vintage, 1960).
A penetrating analysis of the racial attitudes of southern whites during the nineteenth century.

* Cornish, Dudley Taylor, The Sable Arm (New York: Norton, 1956).
The story of black troops in the Union army during the Civil War.

Courlander, Harold, The African (New York: Crown, 1968).
A novel about an African slave brought to America; a vivid portrayal of the slave trade and slave life for intermediate readers.

* Cronon, Edmund D., Black Moses (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1966).
A well-documented and highly readable account of Marcus Garvey and his Universal Negro Improvement Association; recommended.

* Crowe, Charles (ed.), The Age of Civil War and Reconstruction, 1830-1900 Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey, 1966).
A collection of excellent essays, covering the period of slavery as well as the Civil War and Reconstruction.

* Cuban, Larry, The Negro in America (Glenview, Ill.: Scott Foresman, 1964).
A volume in the series, "Scott Foresman Problems in American History," designed for high school use.

Davis, Allison, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner, Deep South (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941).
A study of the life of black people in the South during the period before World War II.

* Dobler, Lavinia G. and E.A. Toppin, Pioneers and Patriots (Garden City: Doubleday, 1965).
Biographical sketches of six Negroes who lived during the Revolutionary Era: Benjamin Banneker, Phillis Wheatley, Peter Salem, Paul Cuffe, Jean Baptiste Pointe de Sable, and John Chavis; recommended for junior high school students.

Dollard, John, Caste and Class in the Southern Town (New York: Doubleday, 1949).
A classic study of a southern town in the 1930's; still interesting although somewhat dated.

* Drisko, Carol F. and E.A. Toppin, The Unfinished March: The Negro in the United States, Reconstruction to World War I (Garden City: Doubleday, 1967)
An excellent account of the Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction era; highly recommended for secondary school students.

* DuBois, W.E.B., Black Reconstruction (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1935).
One of the first serious works in Afro-American history; still an important book, although too lengthy and too narrow in conception for the general reader.

*_______________, The Souls of Black Folk (New York: Fawcett, 1961).
An influential collection of essays; first published in 1903.

* Dumond, Dwight Lowell, Antislavery (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961).
A scholarly study of the abolitionist movement.

Durham, Philip and Everett L. Jones. The Negro Cowboys (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1965).
Narrative accounts of the black frontiersmen; interesting reading for secondary school students.

*Elkins, Stanley M., Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1959).
An important and controversial study of the lasting psychological impact of slavery.

* Filler, Louis, The Crusade Against Slavery, 1830-1860 (New York: Harper, 1960).
A readable description of the movement against slavery; one of the few works which gives due attention to the black abolitionists.

* Franklin, John Hope, The Emancipation Proclamation (New York: Doubleday, 1963).
The dean of Negro History traces the events leading up to the freeing of the slaves.

*________________, The Militant South (Boston: Beacon, 1964).
An examination of the South in pre-Civil War days.

* Genovese, Eugene D., The Political Economy of Slavery; Studies in the Economy and Society of the Slave South (New York: Pantheon Books, 1965).
A collection of thought-provoking studies which analyze the low productivity of the southern economy and examine the broad political, economic and social implications of the slave system.

*Greene, Lorenzo J., The Negro in Colonial New England (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat, 1942).
Particularly good on the free Negroes of the North.

*Guerin, Daniel, Negroes on the March (London: New Park, 1965).
A careful study of the Afro-American role in the labor movement and in radical and liberal political organizations during the 1930's and 1940's.

*Herskovits, Melville, The Myth of the Negro Past (Boston: Beacon, 1958).
An examination of the persistence of African influences in American Negro life; includes an especially useful bibliography.

*Higginson, Thomas Wentworth, Army Life in a Black Regiment (New York: Collier, 1962).
The exciting record of the white commander of the first slave regiment during the Civil War.

Hill, Herbert, The Racial Practices of Organized Labor - In the Age of Gompers and After (New York: N.A.A.C.P., 1965).
An investigation of the formative years of the American Federation of Labor.

*Hughes, Langston, Fight For Freedom: The Story of the N.A.A.C.P. (New York: Berkeley, 1962).
A history of the major civil rights organization; well- written and suitable for use in schools.

*Jacobson, Julius (ed.), The Negro and the American Labor Movement (Garden City: Doubleday, 1968).
A collection of essays.

*James, C.L.R., The Black Jacobins (New York: Vintage, 1963).
A carefully researched and dramatic history of the San Domingo Revolution and its leader Toussaint L'Ouverture; highly recommended.

Leckie, William H., The Buffalo Soldiers: A Narrative of the Negro Cavalry in the West (Norman, Okla.: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1967).
The story of the black soldiers who helped tame the West.

Lee, Irwin H., Negro Medal of Honor Men (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1967).
The story of 45 Afro-American medal winners in American armies from the Civil War to the present day; suitable for secondary school students.

Lewinson, Paul, Race, Class and Party: A History of Negro Suffrage and White Politics in the South (New York: Grosset, 1965).
A study of the legal and political aspects of the condition of black men in the South; written during the Depression years.

*Litwack, Leon F., North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860 (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1961).
The best general history of the northern Negro before the Civil War.

*Logan, Rayford W., The Betrayal of the Negro (New York: Macmillan, 1954).
The history of the "Nadir" of Afro-American history, from Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson.

*Mannix, D.P., and Malcolm Cowley, Black Cargoes: History of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1518-1865 (New York: Viking, 1962).
An emotional but nonetheless usable history of the slave trade.

*McPherson, James M., The Negro's Civil War (New York: Pantheon, 1965).
The story of the Civil War told through the eyewitness accounts of black soldiers. A version for junior high school students is in preparation.

Meier, August, *Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1963).
An important contribution to intellectual history, tracing the philosophical changes which accompanied the concrete worsening of the Negroes' position.

Meltzer, Milton, *Thaddeus Stevens and the Fight for Negro Rights* (New York: Crowell, 1967).
A biographical history of the "Radical Republican" Congressman of the Reconstruction era.

Meltzer, Milton and August Meier, *Time of Trial, Time of Hope: The Negro in America, 1919 to 1941.* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1966).
The sequel to *The Unfinished March* in the Zenith series; highly recommended for secondary school students.

N.A.A.C.P., *Black Heroes of the American Revolution* (New York: N.A.A.C.P.).
A booklet, outlining twenty Negroes' roles in the revolution.

N.A.A.C.P., *Negro Heroes of Emancipation* (New York: N.A.A.C.P., 1964).
A collection of biographical sketches, including some of free Negroes before the Civil War.

*Newby, I.A., *Jim Crow's Defense: Anti-Negro Thought in America, 1900-1930.* (Baton Rouge, La., Louisiana State University Press, 1965).
An intellectual history which demonstrates the extensiveness of racist attitudes in the United States during the early part of the twentieth century.

Olmstead, Frederick L., *The Slave States (Before the Civil War)* (New York: Putnam, 1959).
An influential eyewitness description of the South before the Civil War; first published in 1861.

* Phillips, Unrich B., *American Negro Slavery* (Baton Rouge, La., Louisiana State University Press, 1966).
The classic defense of southern slavery; originally published in 1918. If used with students, it must be placed in historical context and read in conjunction with other works. For criticism, see Richard Hofstadter, "U.B. Phillips and the Plantation Legend," *Journal of Negro History*, XXIX (April, 1944)

*______________________, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of N. Carolina Press, 1961).
The most comprehensive work on the subject.

Quarles, Benjamin, *The Negro in the Civil War* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1953).
A well-documented and careful narrative; it ends with the death of Lincoln and does not really prepare the reader for the tensions of Reconstruction.

Rogers, J.A., Africa's Gift to America (N.Y., Futuro, 1961, rev. ed.).
An interesting picture history with excellent illustrations; recommended for school libraries.

* Rose, Willie Lee, Rehearsal for Reconstruction (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1964).
A brilliant study of the Port Royal experiment during the course of the Civil War; highly recommended for senior high school students.

Rozwenc, Edwin C. (ed.), Reconstruction in the South (Boston: Heath, 1952).
A collection of readings.

* Stampp, Kenneth M., The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante Bellum South (New York: Vintage, 1956).
A thorough investigation of the institution of slavery and a potent critique of slavery's apologists; highly recommended for high school students.

Sterling, D. Spero and Abram L. Harris, The Black Worker: The Negro and the Labor Movement (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat, 1931).
A well documented (although now very dated) survey of Negroes in the trade union movement, before the growth of the C.I.O.

Sterling, Dorothy, Forever Free (New York: Doubleday, 1963)
A good history for junior high school students, covering the Afro-American past up to the Emancipation Proclamation.

* Sterling, Dorothy and Benjamin Quarles, Lift Every Voice (Garden City: Doubleday, 1965).
Life stories of W.E.B. DuBois, Booker T. Washington, Mary Church Terrell, and James W. Johnson; recommended for secondary school students.

* Sterling, Phillip and Rayford Logan, Four Took Freedom (Garden City: Doubleday, 1966).
Bibliographical sketches of Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, Robert Smalls, and Blanche K. Bruce. Like the previous citation, this is a volume in the Zenith series and is highly recommended for students.

* Stowe, Harriet B., Uncle Tom's Cabin (New York: Washington Square, 1962; and many other editions).
The abolitionist classic cannot be regarded as the most unbiased historical source, but it warrents reading because of its enormous influence; first published in 1852.

* Tannenbaum, Frank, Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas (New York: Vintage, 1963).
A comparative analysis of the position of black people in different parts of the Western Hemisphere.

Voegeli, V. Jacque, Free But Not Equal (Chicago: University of Chicago Press: 1967).
A study of the Negro in the Midwest during the Civil War.

* Walker, David, David Walker's Appeal (New York: Hill and Wang, 1965).
First published in 1828, this militant abolitionist tract is still interesting and surprisingly modern.

* Wharton, Vernon L., The Negro in Mississippi, 1865-1890 (New York: Harper & Row, 1965).
Probably the best study of the Reconstruction era in a single state.

White, Walter, A Rising Wind (New York, 1945)
An account of black fighting men during World War II.

________________, Rope and Faggot, A Biography of Judge Lynch (New York: 1929).
A condemnation of lynching, by an important N.A.A.C.P. reporter and spokesman.

* Williams, Eric, Capitalism and Slavery (Chapel Hill: Univ. of N. Carolina Press, 1944).
An investigation of the role of the slave trade in the development of capitalism and industrialism.

* Woodward, C. Vann, Reunion and Reaction: The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction (Boston, 1951).
An excellent analysis of the defeat of Reconstruction.

*____________________, The Strange Career of Jim Crow (N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1955).
A very readable history of segregation; the author describes the triumph of Jim Crow and explains why segregation laws did not become widespread until relatively late; highly recommended for high school students and for teachers.

D. Biographies

An effort has been made in this section to select biographies which are suitable for use in schools. The following notations are used to indicate the approximate grade level: E-Elementary; JHS-Junior High School; HS-High School.

* Anderson, Marian, My Lord, What a Morning (New York: Avon, 1956). (JHS-HS)

* Baldwin,James, Nobody Knows My Name (New York: Dell, 1962). (HS)
An interesting collection of autobiographical essays.

*Bardolph, Richard, The Negro Vanguard (New York: Vintage, 1959). (HS)
A series of biographical sketches of Negro leaders.

Bernard, Jacqueline, Journey Toward Freedom (New York: Norton, 1967). (JHS-HS)
An excellent biography of Sojourner Truth.

* Bennett, Lerone Jr., What Manner of Man: A Biography of Martin Luther King (New York: Pocket Books, 1964), (JHS-HS)
Highly recommended.

* Bradford, Sarah, Harriet Tubman, The Moses of Her People (New York: Corinth, 1961) (JHS-HS)
Originally published in 1886, this biography was written by a friend of Harriet Tubman.

Bontemps, Arna, Frederick Douglass: Slave, Fighter, Freeman (New York: Knopf, 1959). (E-JHS)

Broderick, Francis L., W.E.B. DuBois: Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1959). (HS)

* Brown, Claude, Manchild in the Promised Land (New York: New American Library, 1966).
A powerful representation of ghetto life.

Clayton, E., Martin Luther King: The Peaceful Warrior (Eaglewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice, 1964) (JHS)

* Davis, Sammy Jr., Yes I Can (New York: Pocket Books, 1966).

* Douglass, Frederick, Life and Times of Frederick Douglass (New York: Collier, 1962). (HS)
One of the classics of biographical writing, and an important historical source.

* ______________, Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass (New York: Dolphin, 1963). (JHS-HS)
The story of Douglass' childhood as a slave.

DuBois, W.E.B., John Brown (New York: International, 1962). (HS)
Originally published in 1909.

Epstein, Samuel and Beryl, George Washington Carver: Negro Scientist (New York: Garrard, 1968) (E)

Fauset, Arthur H. Sojourner Truth, God's Faithful Pilgrim (Chapel Hill: Univ. of N. Carolina Press, 1938). (JHS)

Felton, Harold W., Edward Rose, Negro Trailblazer (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1967) (JHS)

______________, Jim Beckwourth, Negro Mountain Man (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1966) (E-JHS)

Taken from the Indian fighter's autobiography.

H. Ferguson, Countee Cullen and the Negro Renaissance (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1966). (JHS)

* Forten, Charlotte L., The Journal of Charlotte L. Forten (New York: Collier, 1961). (JHS-HS)
The diary of a free Negro teenager in Boston before the Civil War.

Gibson, Althea, I Always Wanted to Be Somebody (New York: Harper, 1958). (JHS-HS)

Gould, S., That Dunbar Boy (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1958). (JHS)

Graham, Shirley, Dr. George Washington Carver (New York: Messner, 1944). (JHS)

______________, Jean Baptiste Pointe De Sable (New York: Messner, 1953). (JHS)

______________, The Story of Phillis Wheatley (New York: Messner, 1949). (JHS)

______________, There Was Once a Slave (New York: Messner, 1949). (JHS-HS)
An excellent biography of Frederick Douglass.

______________, Your Most Humble Servant (New York: Messner, 1949). (JHS)
A biography of Benjamin Banneker.

Handy, William C., Father of the Blues: An Autobiography (New York: Macmillan, 1941). (HS)

Hughes, Langston, The Big Sea (New York: 1940). (HS)
An autobiography.

_______________, Famous American Negroes (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1966). (JHS)
A series of biographical sketches.

* Korngold, Ralph, Citizen Toussaint (Boston: Little, Brown, 1944) (HS)
A biography of the leader of the San Domingo Revolution.

Kugelmass, J.A., Ralph J. Bunche, Fighter for Peace (New York: Messner, 1952). (JHS)

Malcolm X., Autobiography of Malcolm X (New York: Grove, 1965). (JHS-HS)

Marshall, Herbert and Mildred Stock, Ira Aldridge: The Negro Tragedian (New York: Macmillan, 1958). (HS)

Meyer, Howard N., Colonel of the Black Regiment (New York: Norton, 1967). (HS)
A good biography of Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

Millender, D.H., Crispus Attucks: Boy of Valor (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965). (JHS)

Onsley, Delight, The Sword and the Spirit (New York: Crowell, 1955). (HS)
A biography of John Brown.

Patterson, Lillie G., Booker T. Washington: Leader of His People (New York: Garrard, 1962). (E)

Petry, Ann, Harriet Tubman (New York: Crowell, 1955). (JHS)

_______________, Tituba of Salem Village (New York: Crowell, 1964). (JHS)
An exciting story from the time of the Salem witch trials.

* Robinson, Bradley with Matthew Henson, Dark Companion: The Story of Matthew Henson (New York: Premier, 1945). (HS)

* Russell, William, Go Up For Glory (New York: Coward, 1966). (HS)

Shapiro, S., The Willie Mays Story (New York: Messner, 1960). (JHS)

Sterling, Dorothy, Captain of the Planter (Garden City: Doubleday, 1958). (JHS)
A biography of Robert Smalls.

_______________, Freedom Train: The Story of Harriet Tubman (Garden City: Doubleday, 1954). (JHS)

Terrell, Mary Church, A Colored Woman in a White World (Washington D.C.: 1940). (HS)

Yates, Elizabeth, Amos Fortune, Free Man (New York: Aladdin, 1950). (JHS) The story of an African prince who was made a slave but then won his freedom; highly recommended.

* Washington, Booker T., Up From Slavery (New York: Bantam Books, 1959). (JHS-HS)

E. Contemporary Issues

This is an area which is particularly subject to rapid change, and it is therefore especially crucial to keep abreast of periodical materials and recent publications. The civil rights movement is undergoing important modifications, and black nationalism is an ever-changing phenomenon. Fortunately, there is a good deal of information in the major journals and magazines concerning developments in the black community. The interested teacher who is able to recognize significant and reliable articles should experience little serious difficulty in keeping up with contemporary issues.

Reference books can be useful sources of encyclopedic information and current data. A library collection should include one of the following volumes: The Negro Handbook, compiled by the editors of Ebony: The American Negro Reference Book, edited by John P. Davis: or The Negro Almanac, edited by Harry Ploske and Rosco Brown.

Some of the most valuable sources on contemporary issues are the following:

* Ashmore, Harry S., The Negro and the Schools (Chapel Hill: Univ. of N. Carolina, 1964).
A general study of segregation in education.

* Baldwin, James, Notes of a Native Son (Boston: Beacon, 1957).

* ________________, The Fire Next Time (New York: Dell, 1963).
These essays by a well known black intellectual are basic reading.

* Bennett, Lerone Jr., Confrontation: Black and White (Chicago: Johnson, 1965).
A perceptive analysis of the civil rights revolution by the senior editor of Ebony Magazine, a specialist in Afro-American history.

Boyd, W.C., Genetics and the Races of Man (Boston: Little, Brown, 1950).
An adequate summary, giving the modern conclusions in the field of race.

* Breitman, George, The Last Year of Malcolm X: The Evolution of a Revolutionary (New York: Merit, 1967).
Contains the most complete bibliography of writings by and about Malcolm X and a list of available tapes of the speeches and interviews of the black leader.

* * Brink, William and Lewis Harris, Negro Revolution in America (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1963).
An important document, based on interviews conducted by Newsweek magazine.

* Clark, Kenneth B., Dark Ghetto (New York: Harper, 1965).
An analysis of the power structure in Harlem and a description of the efforts of the Harlem Youth Organization (HARYOU) which Dr. Clark directs.

* ________________, Prejudice and Your Child (Boston: Beacon, 1963).

Clarke, John Henrik (ed.), Harlem: A Community in Transition (New York: Citadel, 1964).
A collection of poems, pictures and essays.

Cleaver, Eldridge, Soul on Ice (New York: McGraw Hill, 1968).
An important book by one of the foremost spokesmen of the black nationalist movement.

* Conot, Robert, Rivers of Blood, Years of Darkness (New York: Bandam, 1967).
A reconstruction of the 1965 Watts rebellion, with good background on race relations in Southern California.

* Drake, St. Clair and Horace R. Layton, Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City (New York: Harper & Row, 1962). 2 vols.
A sociological study of Chicago in the early 1940's, with appendices added in 1962.

* Essien-Udom, E.U., Black Nationalism (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).
Does not cover the recent manifestations of black nationalism, but is the best study of the Nation of Islam; particularly good on the social and political character of the black Muslim movement.

* Fanon, Frantz, The Wretched of the Earth (New York: Grove Press, 1963).
A study of the Algerian revolution by a black psychiatrist from Martinique; this book has had great influence on the black nationalist movement and is essential reading for those interested in Afro-American militancy.

* Frazier, E. Franklin, Black Bourgeoisie (New York: Macmillan, 1957).
An important analysis of the Negro middle class, by a well known black psychologist from Howard University.

________________, The Negro in the United States (New York: Macmillan, 1949).
A pioneering work in sociological history; the emphasis is on the black community and its institutions.

* Glazer, Nathan and D.P. Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot (Cambridge: M.I.T., 1963).
Includes a section on Afro-Americans in New York City.

Grier, William H. Cobbs, Black Rage (New York: Basic Books, 1968).
A facinating and distressing study by two black psychiatrists which outlines the effects of slavery and oppression on black men and women.

Hare, Nathan, The Black Anglo-Saxons (New York: Marzani & Munsell, 1966).
A critical analysis of the Negro middle class by a black sociologist.

* Isaacs, Harold, The New World of Negro Americans (New York: Viking, 1963).
Especially interesting are the author's suggestions about the impact of recent African developments on the Afro-American.

* Jones, LeRoi, Home: Social Essays (New York: Morrow, 1966).
A collection of powerful essays by a major black artist.

* King, Martin Luther Jr., Why We Can't Wait (New York: New American Library, 1964).
"Letter From A Birmingham Jail" is an eloquent manifesto of the nonviolent civil rights movement.

*__________________, Strength to Love (New York: Pocket Books, 1965).
A collection of sermons.

*__________________, Stride Toward Freedom (New York: Harper, 1958).
The story of the Montgomery bus boycott.

Lewis, Anthony and the New York Times, Portrait of a Decade (New York: Bantam, 1965).
Covers the events of the civil rights movement from 1954 to 1964.

* Lincoln, Eric C., The Black Muslims in America (Boston: Beacon, 1961).

* Lomax, Louis, When the Word is Given (New York: New American Library, 1963).
A report on the Nation of Islam.

*Malcolm X., Autobiography of Malcolm X (New York: Grove, 1965).
Essential reading on the life and ideas of the black nationalist leader.

*_________________, Malcolm X Speaks (New York: Grove, 1966).
A collection of important speeches, mostly from the year after Malcolm X's split with the Nation of Islam.

*_________________, Malcolm X Talks to Young People (New York: Y.S.A., 1967).
A phamphlet containing a speech and interview.

* Montagu, Ashley, Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race (New York: Meridian, 1965).

* Myrdal, Gunnar, An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy (New York: McGraw Hill, 1962), 2 vols.
First published a quarter century ago, the work of this Swedish sociologist is a thorough and perceptive analysis of the Negro's status in the United States. A condensed version of the classic is *Arnold Rose, The Negro in America (New York: Beacon, 1964).

* Nelson, Truman, The Torture of Mothers(New York: Garrison, 1965).
A passionate book about the black youngsters accused of murder as a result of the "Harlem Fruit Riot" in 1964.

* Parsons, Talcott and Kenneth Clark (eds.), The Negro American (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1966).
A college text on today's racial crisis.

* Saunders, Doris (ed.), The Kennedy Years and the Negro (Chicago: Johnson, 1964).

* Silberman, Charles E., Crisis in Black and White (New York: Random, 1964).
An adequate survey of the historical background to racial tensions.

*Wright, Nathan Jr., Black Power and Urban Unrest: Creative Possibilities (New York: Hawthorn, 1967).
A recent work.

Young, Whitney M., To Be Equal (New York, 1964).
A statement by the head of the National Urban League.

* Ziegler, Benjamin M., (ed.), Desegregation and the Supreme Court (Boston: Heath, 1958)
A collection of essays on legal aspects of the history of segregation.

Zinn, Howard, The Southern Mystique (New York: Knopf, 1964).
A perceptive analysis of conservative forces in the South.

*_________________, SNCC: The New Abolitionists (Boston: 1964).
Written when SNCC was a liberal organization of black and white college students.

F. Black Art: Literature, Music and the Visual Arts

1. Novels, Poetry and Drama by Black Writers

* Baldwin, James, Go Tell it on the Mountain (New York: Signet, 1953).

* Bontemps, Arna (ed.), American Negro Poetry (New York: Hill and Wang, 1963).
An anthology of the work of over 50 poets.

Brooks, Gwendolyn, Selected Poems (New York: Harper & Row, 1963).
The work of a Pulitzer Prize winning black poet.

Brown, Sterling A., Arther Davis, and Ulysses Lee (eds.), The Negro Caravan (New York: Citadel, 1941).
A thousand-page anthology of black writing of all literary genres; covering the period up to 1940.

* Clarke, John Henrik (ed.), American Negro Short Stories (New York: Hill & Wang, 1966).
A collection of stories by 31 black authors; many would be good for school use, but the anthology suffers from lack of introductory or biographical material.

* Ellison, Ralph, Invisible Man (New York: New American Library, 1952).
A prize-winning novel.

Halliburton, Warren J., Mauri E. Pelkonen (eds.), New Worlds of Literature (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1966).
A selection of literature about Afro-Americans and other minority groups; highly recommended for school use.

* Hansberry,Lorraine, Raisin in the Sun(New York: New American Library, 1959).
An excellent play about a black family in Chicago.

Hill, Herbert, (ed.), Soon, One Morning: New Writing by American Negroes, 1940-1962 (New York: Knopf, 1963).
An anthology of essays, poetry, and fiction.

* Hughes, Langston, Selected Poems (New York: Knopf, 1959).

Hughes, Langston and Arna Bontemps (eds.), The Poetry of the Negro, 1746-1949 (New York: Doubleday, 1949).
A good anthology of early poetry, including the work of some West Indian poets.

* Johnson, James Weldon, Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man (New York: Hill & Wang, 1960).
A well known novel about a Negro who "passes" into the white world.

* Wright, Richard, Black Boy (New York: Harper & Row, 1937).

*__________________, Native Son (New York: Harper & Row, 1940).

* Wright, Richard, White Man Listen! (Garden City: Doubleday, 1957).

2. Secondary Sources on Black Literature

American Society of African Culture, The American Negro Writer and His Roots (New York: American Society of African Culture, 1960).

* Bone, Robert A., The Negro Novel in America (New Haven: Yale, 1965, rev. ed.)
An analysis of black novels written between 1890 and 1952.

Butcher, Margaret Just, The Negro in American Culture (New York: New American Library, 1956).

Gloster, Hugh, Negro Voices in American Fiction (Chapel Hill: University of N. Carolina Press, 1948).

Gross, Seymour and John Edward Hardy (eds.), Images of the Negro in American Literature (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966).
A collection of critical and historical essays.

Johnson, James Weldon, Black Manhattan (New York: Knopf, 1930).
A cultural history of Harlem, with emphasis on the "Harlem Renaissance" of the 1920's.

Locke, Alain (ed.), The New Negro: An Interpretation (New York: Boni, 1925).

3. The Music of Black America

Courlander, Harold, Negro Folk Music, U.S.A. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963).

* Fisher, Miles M., (ed.), Negro Slave Songs in the United States (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, for the American Historical Association, 1963).

* Jackson, G.P., (ed.), Spiritual Folk Songs of Early America (New York: Dover, 1937).

*Jones, LeRoi, Blues People (New York: Morrow, 1963).
A history of black music in white America.

* Oliver, Paul, The Meaning of the Blues (New York: Collier, 1963).
An Englishman approaches Afro-Americans solely through their music, and his analysis is surprisingly perceptive.

* Stearns, Marshall W., The Story of Jazz (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956).
Has an extensive bibliography.

4. African and Afro-American Art

Fagg, William and Margaret Plass, African Sculpture (New York: Dutton, 1964).

Guillaume, Paul and Thomas Munro, Primitive Negro Sculpture (New York: 1926).

Leuzinger, Elsy, Art of Africa (New York: Crown, 1965).

Segg, Ladislas, African Sculpture (New York: Dover, 1964).

Radin, Paul and James J. Sweeney, African Folktales and Sculpture (New York: Pantheon Books, 1964).

Sweeney, James J., African Negro Art (New York: 1925).

Most of the above volumes have beautiful illustrations and would make a handsome addition to any library collection. They are, however, only substitutes for an opportunity to view actual examples of African and Afro-American art. If it is at all possible, teachers should consider trips to visit the major art collections. Especially recommended are the Museum of African Art in Washington D.C., and the Museum of Primitive Art, at 15 West 54th Street, New York City. It is also very important to watch black publications for notices of special art displays, local exhibitions and shows, or performances by community artists.

G. Books For Children

The bibliography which follows is only a very brief list of children's books about Afro-Americans. It contains the best examples of the books reviewed for use in elementary schools. For longer, annotated bibliographies, the teacher is referred to Minnie Koblitz' The Negro in Schoolroom Literature or Dharathula Millender's Real Negroes, Honest Settings; Children's and Young People's Books about Negro Life and History.

The approximate grade level of the books is given in parenthesis.

Brooks, Gwendolyn, Bronzeville Boys and Girls (New York: Harper, 1956). (2-5)

Courlander, Harold, and George Herzog, The Cow-Tail Switch and other West African Stories (New York: Holt, 1947). (5)

DeAngeli, Marguerite, Bright April (Garden City: Doubleday, 1946). (4)

Dunbar, Paul L., Little Brown Baby: Poems for Young People, ed. by Bertha Rodgers (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1940). (4-5)

Felton, Harold W., John Henry and His Hammer (New York: Knopf, 1950). (6)

Keats, Ezra J., John Henry (New York: Viking, 1965). (2)

______________, Snowy Day (New York: Viking, 1962). (2)

Levy, Mimmi Cooper, Corrie and the Yankee (New York: Viking Press, 1959). (5)

Lexau, Joan M. Benjie (New York: Dial, 1964). (3)

Meadowcraft, Enid, By Secret Railway (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Scholastic). (5-6)

Rollins, Charlamae (ed.), Christmas Gif' (New York: Follett, 1963). (4-5)

Shackelford, Jane D., Child's Story of the Negro (Washington: Associated, 1956, rev. ed.). (4)

Shotwell, Louisa R., Roosevelt Grady (Cleveland & New York: World; 1963). (4-5)

Sterling, Dorothy, Mary Jane (Garden City: Doubleday, 1959). (5-6)

H. Newspapers and Periodicals

Current newspapers and magazines can be an extremely important and lively source on information of black affairs. Teachers and librarians should give particular attention to this type of source, and should exercise some care in choosing periodicals to recommend to their students or subscribe to for their school libraries.

Almost every major American city and many smaller cities have Negro weekly or biweekly newspapers. Clearly, these papers can be vital sources of up-to-date information on developments in the local black community. It must be admitted, however, that the Negro newspapers vary a good deal in quality; those that are basically society sheets have little to contribute to school collections. Teachers should investigate the nearest black newspaper and decide whether it would be worthwhile for their school to have a regular subscription.

In addition to the local papers, there are a number of black newspapers which have national circulations and widespread influence. Some schools will want to subscribe to one or more of the following:

Amsterdam News, New York, New York
Baltimore Afro-American, Baltimore ,Maryland
The Chicago Defender, Chicago, Illinois
Detroit Inner City Voice, Detroit, Michigan
Muhammad Speaks, Chicago, Illinois
Pittsburg Courier, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Black magazines and journals can be valuable resources for teachers and students alike. A list of some of the most important periodicals follows. Schools will generally not be able to subscribe to all of these journals; they should be careful to choose a well-balanced and adequate selection. A magazine like Ebony is popular and is undisputably of high professional quality, but it clearly has a middle-class orientation. It should be balanced with a more activist publication like Liberator and supplemented by a scholarly journal such as the Journal of Negro History. Teachers should be aware when the major periodicals are planning special issues which might be appropriate for school use. Ebony, for example, recently published a whole issue on "The Black Soldier," which should be pointed out to social studies teachers and students. Freedomways and several other journals have had special numbers devoted to the life and accomplishments of Martin Luther King in the course of the last half-year.

African Forum. (American Society for African Culture, 720 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York, 10019).
A quarterly which carries articles on the Afro-American as well as on African subjects.

The Crisis. (N.A.A.C.P., 1790 Broadway, New York, New York, 10019).
A monthly journal which covers developments in the civil rights movement and includes many articles of general interest. It carries regular book reviews and publishes an annual list of new books by black authors. $1.50 per year.

Ebony. (1820 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois). 60616
A biweekly magazine of very professional quality. It often carries pictures which are suitable for special projects or displays, and is an obvious choice for school libraries. $5.00 per year.

Freedomways. (Freedom Associates, Inc., 799 Broadway, New York, New York 10003).
An important quarterly, which carries good book reviews as well as scholarly essays and black literature. $5.00 per year.

Journal of Negro Education. (Howard University, Washington D.C.) 20001
The focus of this quarterly is on education, but it contains many articles of more general interest.

Journal of Negro History. (Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1538 Ninth Street N.W., Washington D.C.)
The standard quarterly on the history of Afro-Americans.

Liberator. (Afro-American Research Institution, 244 East 46th Street, New York, New York 10017).
A monthly magazine which provides a forum for Afro-American radicals and covers developments in the field of black art. $3.00 per year.

Negro Digest. (1820 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois). 60616
A monthly which has the same publishers as Ebony, but is not directed quite so much toward the Negro elite. $3.00 per year.

Phylon: The Atlanta University Review of Race of Culture. (Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia).
A quarterly journal which often carries very important articles on Afro-American history and society.

I. Filmstrips and Films.

Many of the commercial audio-visual companies are now turning their attention to Afro-American history, and several of them apparently have material currently in preparation. The teacher should be aware that this is a field in which new sources are constantly appearing and should watch the regular catalogs and the black publications for notice of new educational films and filmstrips. Although the resources listed below are useful to some degree, they are very likely to be improved upon by materials which will appear on the market in the next few years.

1. Filmstrips.

a. McGraw Hill Text Films, 330 W. 42nd St., N.Y., N.Y. 10026. "The History of the American Negro", a series of 8 filmstrips, of approximately 40 frames each; $8.50 each, or $60.00 for the set of eight. Titles: From Africa to America; Slavery in the Young American Republic; Slavery in "A House Divided"; The Negro in Civil War and Reconstruction; The Negro in the Gilded Age; The Negro Faces the Twentieth Century; The Negro Fights for the Four Freedoms; The Threshold of Equality.

b. National Education Association, 1201 16th St. N.W., Washington D.C. 20036. "Legacy of Honor", a color filmstrip on Negro history, about 25 minutes long, with accompanying record; supplemented by brief filmstrip, "Suggestions for Teachers".

c. Society for Visual Education, 1345 Diversey Pkwy., Chicago, Ill., 60614. "Leading American Negroes", a series of six color filmstrips, of approximately 45 frames each, with accompanying records about 15 minutes in length; $6.50 each strip with teachers' guide, $4.00 each record. Subjects: Mary McLeon Bethune; George Washington Carver; Benjamin Banneker; Robert Smalls; Frederick Douglass; Harriet Tubman.

d. Warren Schloat Productions, Inc., Pleasantville, N.Y. 10570. "Negroes", a two-part filmstrip and record, in the series "Minorities Have Made America Great".

2. Films.

a. IZ Films, Inc., 689 Fifth Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10022. "Frederick Douglass", 2 reels of sound film, black and white, about 25 minutes each; $300.00 for the set.

b. McGraw Hill Text Films, 330 W. 42nd St., N.Y., N.Y. 10026. "A History of the Negro in America", 3 sound films, black and white, about 20 minutes each; $115.00 each reel or $320.00 for the set of three. Titles: Out of Slavery, 1619-1860; Civil War and Reconstruction, 1861-1877; The Freedom Movement, 1877-the present.

c. N.E.T. Film Service, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind., 47401. "History of the Negro People", a series of sound films, black and white, about 30 minutes in length; $125.00 each reel.
Titles: Heritage of the Negro; Slavery; Free At Last; The Negro in the South; Our Country Too; New Mood.

d. The African Film Bibliography, 1965, is an annotated catalog of documentary films on Africa. It gives thorough descriptions of the available films and tells where they can be purchased or rented. School personnel are advised to consult this useful bibliography; it is available from the African Studies Association, University of Indiana, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

e. Several important television series have been produced by commercial networks; most valuable are the four-hour ABC documentary on Africa and the seven-part CBS series entitled "On Black America." The ABC film is already available on reels for school use, through the National Educational Television offices. If the CBS series becomes generally available, it would be an excellent source for schools; three of the seven programs are particularly good: "Afro-American History, Lost, Stolen or Strayed"; "The Black Soldier"; "The Heritage of Slavery."

f. There are a number of commercial films dealing with Afro-Americans or with Africa which would be very suitable for assemblies or entertainment programs. The following are excellent: Black Orpheus; Nothing But a Man; A Patch of Blue; Lilies of the Field; The Defiant Ones; Raisin in the Sun; Go Down Moses; Black Monday; Cry the Beloved Country.

J. Sound Recordings.

It is hardly necessary to point out the contribution made by black people in the rich musical heritage of America. Every valid and distinctive musical art form which has developed in the United States shows a strong Afro-American component. Recordings by black musicians are an important part of a school's resources on Afro-American culture, and, indeed, on American culture. In addition to the musical disks, there are a great many narrated records which are important for the study of Afro-American history. It would be impossible to list here all the records which might find a place in school collections, and probably impudent to attempt to do so. What follows is merely a list of some of the more important companies which produce Afro-American records, with a few examples from their collections. Teachers or other school personnel should write for catalogs or brochures from the major companies.

a. Folkways/Scholastic Records, 906 Sylvan Ave., Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 07632 has an outstanding collection of over 50 records in words and music which relate to black history and culture. Some examples are: The Glory of Negro History; The Negro Woman; the Autobiography of Frederick Douglass; W.E.B. DuBois; American History in Ballad and Song; We Shall Overcome; Ballads of the Civil War; The Story of Jazz; American Negro Folk and Work Songs. Write for the brochure, "Sounds of Achievement: the Negro Heritage on Records."

b. A catalog, "Folk Music" has been compiled by the Archive of Folk Song of the Library of Congress, and is available from the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C. 20402, for 40¢. Some examples of recordings of black music are: Afro-American Spirituals, Work Songs, and Ballads; Afro-American Blues and Game Songs; Negro Work Songs and Calls; Negro Game Songs; Negro Religious Songs and Services; Negro Blues and Hollers.

c. Stanley Bowman C., Inc. 12 Cleveland St., Valhalla, N.Y. 10595, has produced a number of narrated records on Afro-American history.

d. A brochure on African and Afro-American folk records is available from the Columbia Record Co., Education Department, 799 7th Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10019.

e. Ethnic Folkways Records, 165 W. 46th St., N.Y., N.Y. (10036); and Folkways Records, 121 W. 47th St., N.Y., N.Y. (10036) Both companies have recorded black folk music.

f. Gorly Records, Motown Record Corp., Detroit, Mich., 48208, has records of speeches by prominent Negro Leaders like Martin Luther King, Jr.

g. Schools which maintain collections of records for recreational or entertainment purposes should be sure to include the "Soul" records of modern black singers like Aretha Franklin, James Brown, and Otis Redding. Such records are not recommended here for their "ethnic" or historical interest, but simply because they are the work of major American artists and are extremely popular.

K. Further Sources of Information

1. Organizations.

Black organizations and groups concerned with civil-rights can be valuable sources of supplemental information on Afro-American affairs. Many of the organizations listed below issue regular publications (journals, newspapers, etc.), readings lists, phamphlets, display materials, or policy statements. Some of them will provide speakers for special assemblies or send representatives to address groups of students. They may also be able to provide addresses of local representatives or organizations with which the school could work.

Afro-American Research Institute, Inc., 244 E. 46th Street, N.Y., N.Y. 10017
American Society for African Culture, 15 E. 40th Street, N.Y., N.Y. 10016.
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 315 Lexington Avenue, N.Y., N.Y. 10016.
Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1538 9th Street N.W., Washington D.C. 20001.
Black Panther Party, P.O. Box 8641 Emeryville Station, Oakland, California; 94608 or 780 Nostrand Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11216
Congress of Racial Equality, 38 Park Row, N.Y., N.Y. 10038.
Division of Intercultural Relations in Education, State Education Department Albany, N.Y. 12224.
Lowndes County Freedom Organization, 125 Rt. 1, Haynesville, Alabama. 36040
Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, Box 275, Sunflower, Miss. 39213
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1790 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10019.
National Urban League, 14 E. 48th Street, N.Y.,N.Y. 10017.
Nation of Islam 5335 South Greenwood, Chicago, Ill. 60615.
Schomburg Collection, New York Public Library, 103 W. 135th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10030.
Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 334 Auburn Ave. N.E. Atlanta, Ga. 30303
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, 100 5th Avenue, N.Y., N.Y. 10003

2. Publishers.

The major publishers of materials on the Afro-American are the following:

Afro-Am Publishers, 1727 S. Indiana Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. 60616
American Historical Association, Service Center for Teachers of History, 400 A Street S.E. Washington D.C. 20003.
Arno Press, Inc., 330 Madison Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10017.
Associated Publishers, 1538 Ninth St., N.W., Washington D.C. 20001
Bantam Books, Inc., 271 Madison Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10016.
Basic Books, 404 Park Ave., S., N.Y., N.Y. 10016.
Beacon Press, 25 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 02108.
Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 4300 W. 62nd St., Indianapolis, Indiana 46206.
Center for Urban Education, 33 W. 42nd St., N.Y., N.Y. 10017.
Citadel Press, 222 Park Ave., S., N.Y., N.Y. 10003.

P.F. Collier, Inc., 650 5th Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10019.
Corinth Books, 17 W. 8th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10011.
Thomas Crowell Co., 201 Park Ave., S., N.Y., N.Y. 10003.
Crown Publishers, Inc., 419 Park Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10016.
Dodd, Mead & Co., 432 Park Ave. S., N.Y.N.Y. 10016.
Doubleday & Co., Inc., 501 Franklin Ave., Garden City, N.J. 11531.
Dover Publications, Inc., 180 Varich St., N.Y., N.Y. 10014.
Educational Heritage, Inc., 733 Yonkers Ave., Yonkers, N.Y. 10704.
Fawcett Publications, Inc., Fawcett Place, Greenwich, Conn. 06832.
Follett Publishing Co., 1010 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Illinois 60607.
Friendship Press, 475 Riverside Drive, N.Y., N.Y. 10027.
Government Printing Office, Washington D.C. 20401.
Grosset & Dunlop, Inc., 51 Madison Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10003.
Grove Press, Inc., 80 University Place, N.Y., N.Y. 10003.
Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.,757 3rd Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10017.
Harper & Row Publishers, Inc., 49 E. 33rd. St., N.Y., N.Y. 10016.
D.C. Heath & Co., 285 Columbus Ave., Boston, Mass. 02116.
Hill & Wang, Inc., 141 5th Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10010.
Houghton Mifflin Co., 2 Park St., Boston, Mass., 02107.
International Publishers Co., Inc., 381 Park Ave., S. N.Y., N.Y. 10016.
Johnson Publishing Co., 1820 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60616
Alfred Knopf, Inc., Randon House, 501 Madison Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10022.
Little, Brown & Co., 34 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 02106.
McGraw Hill Book Co., 330 W. 42nd St., N.Y., N.Y. 10036.
Macmillan Co., 866 Third Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10022.
Meridian Books, Inc., c/o World Publishing Co., 119 W. 57th St. N.Y., N.Y. 10019.
Mulian Messner, Inc., 8 W. 40th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10018.
William Morrow & Co., 425 Park Ave., S., N.Y., N.Y. 10016.
New American Library, Inc.,1301 Ave. of the Americas, N.Y., N.Y. 10019.
Oxford University Press, Inc., 417 Fifth Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10016.
Pantheon Books, Inc., 22 E. 51st St. N.Y., N.Y. 10022.
Penguin Books, Inc., 3300 Clipper Mill Rd., Baltimore Md. 21211.
Pocket Books, Inc., 630 Fifth Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10020.
Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 111 Fourth Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10003.
Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 07632.
Quadrangle Books, Inc., 180 N. Wacher Dr., Chicago, Ill., 60606.
Random House, Inc., 501 Madison Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10022.
Signet Books, New American Library, Inc., 1301 Ave., of the Americans, N.Y., N.Y. 10019.
Scholastic Book Services 904 Sylvan Ave., Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 07632.
Scott, Foresman & Co., 1900 E. Lake Ave, Glenview, Ill., 60025.
Simon & Schuster, Inc., Publishers, 630 Fifth Ave. N.Y., N.Y. 10020.
Torchbooks, Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., 49 E. 33rd St., N.Y., N.Y. 10016.
UNESCO Publications Center, 317 E. 34th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10016.
Universal Library, Grosset & Dunlap, Inc., 51 Madison Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10010.
University of Chicago Press., 5750 Ellis Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60637.
University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27515.

University of Wisconsin Press, Box 1379, Madison, Wis. 53701
Viking Press, Inc., 625 Madison Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10022.
Vintage Books Inc., 33 W. 60th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10023.
Zenith Books, Doubleday & Co., Inc., 501 Franklin Ave., Garden City, N.J. 11531.

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